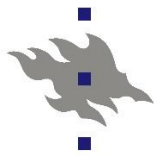


RUSSIAN-UKRAINIAN CRISIS,  
NATIONAL IDENTITY AND DEMOCRATIC CONSOLIDATION IN UKRAINE

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Tiivistelmä – Referat – Abstract

The research explores Russian-Ukrainian crisis 2014 in order to see (i) how it has impacted Ukrainian identity split between pro-Western and pro-Russian supporters and (ii) the situation with the process of democratic consolidation in Ukraine. The first research question uses data from public surveys and results of presidential and parliamentary elections 2014 and local elections 2015 in order to demonstrate that Ukrainian national identity has become more consolidated in its commitment to integration with the European Union. At the same time, there has been a significant rise of negative attitude towards Russia even in previously pro-Russian regions. The second research question is concerned with the democratic consolidation in Ukraine and whether resolution of pro-Russian vs. pro-Western identity conflict has resulted in enhanced democracy. In order to assess democratic consolidation in Ukraine the research looks at two main indicators post-crisis political party system and public support of democracy. From the analysis of second research question it can be concluded that democratic consolidation has been facing serious impediments in Ukraine and neither Ukrainian political party system nor political elites can be considered as sources of further consolidation of new regime. Public support of democracy has also slightly wavered by 2016 due to tough economic situation, non-decreasing corruption and lack of trust in politicians.

Avainsanat – Nyckelord – Keywords

**Russian foreign policy, Ukrainian crisis, Democratisation, Democratic Consolidation, Nation-building**

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## **Chapter 1. Introduction.**

In 2016, Ukraine faces multiple problems in terms of its divided identity, corrupted elites, poor economy and hostile Russia on its eastern borders. Proper understanding of Ukrainian complex identity-building process requires some familiarity with history of the USSR and its management of nationalities, although, certainly Ukraine had possessed a huge historical legacy long before the USSR and that also had influenced its cultural memory. Ukraine can be compared with many other post-communist states that these days are divided between Soviet mentality and modern nation-building but it is also sort of unique because of its geographical position on the crossroads of Western and Russian civilizational influences. Geopolitics has always been important to Ukraine's national identification. However, it should not imply that Ukraine has been only an object of contestation between Russia and the EU and not an actor on its own as some neo-realists would say as, for example, John Mearsheimer who has suggested it was West who provoked Russia's aggression to maintain its sphere of influence in Ukraine.<sup>1</sup> Geopolitics is certainly important to Ukrainian future but it is still not as decisive as domestic politics and reforms that country has been undergoing since Euromaidan.

Russia's involvement in modern Ukraine has been contradictory to say the least and it is hard not to give acknowledgement to Ukrainian nation for finally rejecting Russian paternalism and cultural influence that under Vladimir Putin has obtained neo-imperialist and authoritarian colors. After all, Russia had supported pro-Russian Ukrainian oligarchs from Yanukovich's regime by giving them loans perpetuating further corruption and in general giving political leverage to people who were traditionally associated in Ukraine with

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<sup>1</sup> John J. Mearsheimer, "Why the Ukraine Crisis Is the West's Fault: The Liberal Delusions that Provoked Putin," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2014, <https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2014-08-18/why-ukraine-crisis-west-s-fault>; also response by Alexander J. Motyl, "The Ukraine crisis according to John J. Mearsheimer: Impeccable Logic, Wrong Facts," European Leadership Network, October 31, 2014, [http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/the-ukraine-crisis-according-to-john-j-mearsheimer-impeccable-logic-wrong-facts\\_2079.html](http://www.europeanleadershipnetwork.org/the-ukraine-crisis-according-to-john-j-mearsheimer-impeccable-logic-wrong-facts_2079.html)

organized crime.<sup>2</sup> But of course nothing has damaged Ukrainian state as badly as Russian-Ukrainian crisis 2014 (here refers to the state of Russian-Ukrainian relationship following Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014) that has had devastating effect on Ukrainian economy, political development and nearly resulting in civil war in eastern regions with mass outflows of refugees. At the same time, there has been an argument that Russia's aggression could have contributed to democratic consolidation in Ukraine by weakening long-lasting identity split between pro-Western/nationalist and pro-Russian supporters that has been considered as impediment to democratic transition in modern Ukraine. In this regard it would be useful to turn to the experience of Central and Eastern Europe and their success in undergoing post-communist transition by re-instating pre-communist national identities. A large part of this success was owned to the nation-wide rejection of communist ideology as hostile that had attempted to supersede national identities, cultures and languages. Such feeling of resentment has always existed in western regions of Ukraine but following Russian-Ukrainian crisis it has gained national dimension. Post-Crimean identification of Ukraine would be based first of all on sober realization that it has severed its ties with Russia and has chosen a distinctly different way from the rest of post-communist world.

A lot has been said about how West has failed to prevent Ukrainian crisis and foresee annexation of Crimea. The European Union (EU) has been criticized for miscalculating strength of Russia's commitment of not allowing European integration in the east and maintaining its sphere of influence in former Soviet Union (FSU). However, it has also been said that Vladimir Putin is a great opportunist so in many ways annexation of Crimea and Donbass's separatism have been reactionary moves on Russia's behalf.<sup>3</sup> It was genuinely hard to foresee that in the middle of winter Olympic games 2014, while Moscow as a host was enjoying triumph and international recognition, Putin would decide to make a such bold move and break all international norms and laws. And after the Crimea, the process hardly

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<sup>2</sup> Taras Kuzio, "Crime, politics and business in 1990s Ukraine," *Communist and Post-Communist Politics* 47, 2014, 195-210.

<sup>3</sup> "Carl Bildt: Putin bol'she opportunist chem strateg," *Ukrinform*, June 20, 2015, [http://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-lastnews/1856632-bildt\\_putin\\_bolshe\\_opportunist\\_chem\\_strateg\\_1756941.html](http://www.ukrinform.ru/rubric-lastnews/1856632-bildt_putin_bolshe_opportunist_chem_strateg_1756941.html)

could have been stopped. Russia has been centralized authoritarian state where decisions are made by small group of people who can implement any radical solution without any bureaucracy or parliamentary discussions as it has been demonstrated on the example of Crimea. The EU, on the other hand, has not been suited for producing quick responses during crisis situations due to its bureaucracy and lack of central authority.

In terms of the EU not understanding Russia's lack of intentions to become part of Western world, Russia's agenda has changed more than a few times and there were periods when Russia was quite pro-Western. As Michael McFaul former US ambassador to Russia used to say there were times when Russia cooperated closely with NATO and was not portraying it as enemy or a threat.<sup>4</sup> It is truth especially if to remember that Russia supported the US military operation in Afghanistan following 9/11 and even allowed for the US military bases in Central Asia. So at least for some period of time Russia saw itself as part of Western world and was not going to confront it. As many experts say these later anti-Western changes are likely to be linked to the domestic situation in Russia and growing concerns of Putin with regime survival when many weaknesses of domestic policy-making have been hidden under prominent foreign policy and external enemies. Therefore, it is not likely that Russia is going to genuinely cooperate with the EU in order to resolve Ukrainian crisis. Similar to Georgia and Moldova, Putin is likely going to continue support secessionist elements in order to have groups of influence and being able to destabilize situation in Ukraine.

There are two research questions present in this work. The main research question aims to explore how pro-Western vs. pro-Russian regional split in Ukraine has changed since the beginning of crisis in March 2014 and whether there have been significant shifts towards Ukraine's integration with the European Union in regions that have traditionally supported integration with Russia resulting in less regional division and emerging consensus about pro-democratic path Ukraine should follow. The methodology for the first research question involves analysis of voting preferences during Ukrainian presidential and parliamentary

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<sup>4</sup> Michael McFaul, "Confronting Putin's Russia," *The New York Times*, March 23, 2014, <http://www.nytimes.com/2014/03/24/opinion/confronting-putins-russia.html>

elections 2014 and local elections 2015 and surveys that measured changes in attitude of Ukrainians towards integration with the EU and Russia-led the Customs Union (CU). The second research question is concerned with state of democratic consolidation in Ukraine analyzing post-conflict party system and mass attitudes towards democracy. The methodology for second question is focused on the literature review of Ukrainian post-crisis political party system and public surveys that measured change in democratic support during the conflict period.

The paper is structured as follows. Chapter 2 expands on the background of the research question introducing historic context of Ukrainian identity split. Chapter 3 introduces review of Russia's involvement in Ukrainian political scene focusing on 2004 Orange Revolution and 2014 Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Chapter 4 introduces theoretical background of the research such as relationship between democratic transition, consolidation and national identification and how to define and measure democratic consolidation. Chapter 5 introduces in details methodology and data used for both research questions. Chapter 6 is exploration of shift in Ukrainian national identity and how it has affected identity split using data from latest Ukrainian elections and public surveys. Chapter 7 is summary of second research question that looks at the state of democratic consolidation in Ukraine choosing two main indicators political party system in post-crisis Ukraine and public support of democracy as the only form of governance. Chapter 8 or Conclusion is analysis of findings from both research questions and their interpretation within theories of democratic consolidation and national identification.

## Chapter 2. Ukrainian Nation-Building, Regionalism and Identity Split.

One of the most prominent political features of Ukraine has been its regionalism or regional division used by political analysts to describe salient differences in political culture and voting preferences of various regions of Ukraine. Ukraine's regional division represents two major groups of population with two very different sets of political culture variously distributed across the country: "pro-Russian" supporters as those who prefer integration with the Customs Union and positively view Russia and "pro-Western/pro-Ukrainian" ones who support political integration with the West and more often than not are associated with nationalist discourses.

In many ways this divide is a legacy of Soviet history and specifics of nationalities policies in Soviet republics which shifted from encouragement of local ethnicities, culture and language during *korenizatsia* policy in 1920-30s to harsh repressions and history revisionism in later periods.<sup>5</sup> The Soviet Union has often been considered as an empire with its management of nationalities resembling such of the Ottoman Empire where there was a blurred distinction between core imperial nation and the rest of empire that underplayed ethnic element in favor of emphasizing greater imperial identity.<sup>6</sup> Following this logic Soviet nationalist policies aimed at assimilation of Slav nations of Ukraine and Belarus into greater Russian one with strong promotion of myth of one greater Russian nation to ensure futility of any future movements for independence of these nations.<sup>7</sup> Traditional Soviet historiography and way of thinking remain influential in Ukraine and other post-Soviet nation-states that according to official Soviet narrative were never annexed or conquered but voluntary joined the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This narrative harshly contrasts

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<sup>5</sup> More detailed information on cycles of Ukrainization and Rusification in Soviet and post-Soviet Ukraine can be found in Taras Kuzio, "Competing National Identities and Democratisation in Ukraine: The Fifth and Sixth Cycles in post-Soviet Ukrainian History," *Acta Slavica Iaponica* 33, 2013, 27-46.

<sup>6</sup> Following definition suggested by Michael Doyle that what defines empire is "relationship, formal or informal, in which one state controls the effective political sovereignty of another political society" in Michael Doyle, *Empires* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), 45.

<sup>7</sup> Kuzio, "Competing National Identities and Democratisation in Ukraine: The Fifth and Sixth Cycles in post-Soviet Ukrainian History".



with nationalist groups of Ukrainians that resent Soviet rule and support complete autonomy of Ukrainian nation with its own language, culture and political future.

The contradictory legacy of imperial transition is one major factor responsible for what has often been called “east-west” divide between pro-Russian eastern and central and more Ukrainian-oriented western regions that became especially popular during 2004 presidential elections and the following “Orange Revolution” often depicted as a clash between “blue” regions in eastern Ukraine and Crimea that supported pro-Russian candidate Viktor Yanukovich and pro-Western “orange” supporters in Kyiv and western Ukraine that voted for Viktor Yushchenko. “Two-region” framework, however, is commonly criticized as an oversimplified approach towards the regional division which does not accurately reflect distribution of political preferences across the country such as for example southwestern regions of Ukraine that do not fall within “western” political behavior and Crimea.<sup>8</sup> There is more than one factor accounting for regional division in Ukraine reflecting not only geography and language (as could have been observed during Russian-Ukrainian crisis when majority of Ukrainian Security Services were Russian speakers) but also history, cultural orientation and economic factors.<sup>9</sup> “Eight-region” approach suggested by Lowell Barrington and Erik Herron is less common than “two-region” (east vs. west) or “four-region” (east, west, center and south), however, it proves to be more useful in defining units within Ukraine with consistent political and social identities. Barrington-Herron’s “eight-region” model breaks traditional four regions into smaller units in order to demonstrate eight distinct sets of cohesive attitudes and behavior coming from different history, economy and demographic indicators that are often blurred and overlooked in “two-” and “four-region” models. Such detailed approach has already been partly justified during Russian-Ukrainian crisis when pro-Russian military separatism managed to gain mass support in Donetsk and Luhansk regions but failed in other eastern provinces such as Kharkiv that is usually also portrayed as “east”

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<sup>8</sup> Lowell W. Barrington and Erik S. Herron, “One Ukraine or Many? Regionalism in Ukraine and Its Political Consequences,” *Nationalities Papers* 32, no. 1 (2004): 53-86.

<sup>9</sup> Taras Kuzio, “A New Framework for Understanding Nationalisms in Ukraine: Democratic Revolutions, Separatism and Russian Hybrid War,” *Geopolitics, History and International Relations* 7, no. 1 (2015): 30-51.

in “two-” and “four-region” models.<sup>10</sup> In Barrington-Herron’s model, however, these three eastern regions are included in two different political units: Donetsk and Luhansk make up “east” bordering Russia and being most Russified regions (both demographically and linguistically) and more so than “east-central” (Kharkiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia) that have less Russian population. “Eight-region” model also manages to separate Crimea with Sevastopol into separate political unit taking into consideration demography (Russian population is majority) and historical developments such as it was the last territory to become part of Ukraine and also did not support Ukrainian independence during 1991 referendum. Western Ukraine is divided into three distinct political units: “west” in traditional sense also known as Galicia that belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Poland and is composed of Lviv, Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk, “west-central” that includes Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia, Khmelnetskiy, Rivne, Volyn provinces that became part of Russian empire in late XVIII as a result of partition of Poland, and “southwest” of Chernivtsi and Zakarpattia that Barrington and Herron named hidden “outlier” in Ukrainian regional division as the geography (borders with Romania, Moldova, Hungary and Slovakia) and history made their political attitudes to be less Ukrainian than the rest of western Ukraine. Two remaining regions provide basis for another sort of divide, in this case it would be “north-south”: “north” is made of Poltava, Kirovograd, Cherkasy, Kyiv, Chernihiv, Sumy oblasts together with city of Kyiv and “south” represented by Kherson, Odesa and Mikolaiv provinces that were under Ottoman control and became part of Russia only in late XVIII c.<sup>11</sup>

It has been consistently suggested that Ukrainian “identity split” presents an obstacle to successful democratic transition in the post-Soviet period. Ukrainian conflict between identities implies not only competition between cultural values and interpretations of history but also between political preferences, values and choices that represent democratic and non-

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<sup>10</sup> Igor Rotar, “Is Kharkiv Province Another Enclave of Separatists?,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 12, no. 44, March 10, 2015, [http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx\\_ttnews%5Btt\\_news%5D=43641&tx\\_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=27&cHash=6bab3dd55ee5616007d06eb08789b04c#.ViJyAOGhdla](http://www.jamestown.org/programs/edm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=43641&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=27&cHash=6bab3dd55ee5616007d06eb08789b04c#.ViJyAOGhdla)

<sup>11</sup> Suggested by Barrington and Faranda in Lowell Barrington and Regina Faranda, “Reexamining Region, Ethnicity, and Language in Ukraine,” *Post-Soviet Affairs* 25, no. 3 (2009): 232-256.

democratic regimes. Several case studies and survey results have demonstrated that Ukraine is one of few cases in the post-Soviet space where patterns of national identification do have considerable influence on attitude towards democracy and authoritarianism and, for example, Rusanna Gaber's research on national identity and democratic consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe demonstrated a considerable gap between pro-Russian and pro-Ukrainian population with former expressing much more skepticism towards idea of authentic Ukrainian national identity and democratic development.<sup>12</sup> Taras Kuzio has been quite committed in his argument that pro-Russian loyalties and Soviet nostalgia that have ensured support of highly corrupted Party of Regions during parliamentary and presidential elections in Ukraine are much more dangerous to Ukraine's democratic future than marginalized organizations of far-right nationalists such as "Svoboda" political party that did not get any seats during last parliamentary elections in October 2014.<sup>13</sup> Russian-Ukrainian crisis seemed to prove validity of Kuzio's concerns about pro-Russian and neo-Soviet nationalism in eastern Ukraine that supported Russian intervention. Lucan A. Way also argued in his work comparing cases of Ukraine, Moldova, Russia and Belarus that identity split in Ukraine prevents consolidation of any type of regime due to the possibilities of mass mobilization on both sides.<sup>14</sup> It is essentially uncontested and demonstrated by numerous surveys that democratic values receive lower support in eastern Ukrainian regions and Crimea where people tend to prefer "stability" over democracy. There has not been yet studies regarding how Russian-Ukrainian conflict has affected democracy in Ukraine and its linkage to national

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<sup>12</sup> See Rusanna Gaber, "National Identity and Democratic Consolidation in Central and Eastern Europe," *International Journal of Sociology* 36, no. 3 (2006): 35-69. The main criteria that distinguishes Russian and Ukrainian groups in Gaber's study, however, is their linguistic affiliation which Taras Kuzio and other scholars warn against using it as predictor of political preferences. The suggestion about consistently lower support for democracy in eastern Ukraine is also made by Adrian Karatnycky and Alexander J. Motyl, "The Key to Kiev: Ukraine's security means Europe's stability," *Foreign Affairs* 88, no. 3 (2009): 106-120; Mykola Riabchuk, "Ukraine's 'muddling through': National identity and post-communist transition," *Communist and Post-Communist Studies* 45, 2012, 439-446; Kuzio, "A New Framework for Understanding Nationalisms in Ukraine: Democratic Revolutions, Separatism and Russian Hybrid War".

<sup>13</sup> Kuzio, "A New Framework for Understanding Nationalisms in Ukraine: Democratic Revolutions, Separatism and Russian Hybrid War".

<sup>14</sup> Lucan A. Way, "Authoritarian State Building and the Sources of Regime Competitiveness in the Fourth Wave: The Cases of Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Ukraine," *World Politics* 57, no. 2 (2005): 231-61.

identity, although, there have been opinions expressed that Russian hostility and aggressive politics would strengthen Ukrainian national identity and contribute to overcoming of its internal divisions.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> Mykola Riabchuk, “‘Two Ukraines’ Reconsidered: The End of Ukrainian Ambivalence,” *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 15, no. 1 (2015): 138-56.

### **Chapter 3. Russia and Democratisation in Post-Soviet Ukraine.**

#### **3.1. 2004: Presidential Elections and Orange Revolution.**

It can be said that by 2016 Russia has had two major involvements in Ukrainian domestic politics during 2004 presidential elections and initiation of Russian-Ukrainian crisis starting from Euromaidan in 2013.

Ukraine seemed to enter 2000s with firm intentions of improving its previously poor economic situation introducing liberal reforms and fight against corruption mostly due to efforts of Prime-Minister Victor Yushchenko (1999-2001). Despite initiating reformist turn in Ukrainian politics, Yushchenko did not last long in environment dominated by oligarchs and corruption and in 2001 was removed from then Leonid Kuchma's government. Following his retirement, Yushchenko continued his career in opposition, although he was hardly a revolutionary type compared to, for example, Yulia Tymoshenko. When infamous "Kuchmagate" started, Yushchenko and his political party Our Ukraine were the only ones from opposition who did not demand immediate Kuchma's resignation.<sup>16</sup> "Kuchmagate" is a reference to public release of audio tapes in 2001 by leader of Socialist Party of Ukraine (SPU) Oleksandr Moroz that proved Leonid Kuchma's role in unsolved murder of opposition journalist Georgiy Gongadze in 2000.<sup>17</sup> The tapes' release was followed by mass protests that called for resignation of Kuchma headed by opposition leaders Tymoshenko and Yuri Lutsenko from SPU. In many ways "Kuchmagate" was one of main reasons why Victor Yanukovich and not Kuchma became the candidate in presidential elections 2004. 2004 presidential campaign divided Ukrainian voters as Yanukovich gained official support from

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<sup>16</sup> Taras Kuzio, "Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges: 'Kuchmagate' to the Orange Revolution," in *Democratic Revolution in Ukraine: From Kuchmagate to Orange Revolution*, ed. Taras Kuzio (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), 31-58.

<sup>17</sup> For more details on Kuchmagate see Kuzio, "Oligarchs, Tapes and Oranges: 'Kuchmagate' to the Orange Revolution".

Russia and aimed at Russian-speaking population, while Yushchenko's main target was centre and western Ukraine.<sup>18</sup>

During 2004 presidential elections Russia took unexpectedly active role in supporting pro-Russian presidential candidate (who also represented Donetsk clan in Ukrainian politics) Viktor Yanukovych. Much of Russia's political technologies that were employed later in domestic politics to suppress and discredit pro-democratic protests in 2011-12 had originated during 2004 electoral campaign in Ukraine. Notable political actors from Russian side included Gleb Pavlovsky head of Russian Fund for Effective Politics (FEP) who formulated media strategy in order to increase popularity of Yanukovych and destroy his pro-Western competitor Yushchenko.<sup>19</sup> There was a huge anti-Yushchenko campaign aimed to alienate his supporters. One of the most popular arguments was alleged Russophobia of Yushchenko and rumors that if he won there would be nation-wide discrimination of Russian population in eastern Ukraine and Crimea.<sup>20</sup> The irony was that it was actually President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma's head of administration Viktor Medvedchuk who had control over major nationalist groups Ukrainian Nationalist Assembly (UNA), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine (OUNvU), Rukh and Bratstvo (Brotherhood).<sup>21</sup> Other moves included staged terrorist attacks of alleged Yushchenko's supporters at Yanukovych with participation of Russian Security Services. Russian side of presidential campaign also introduced variety of conspiracy theories and alleged linkages of Yushchenko to the US when the former was presented as a puppet of the US State Department. US conspiracy theories were quite convenient at the time as not only they discredited Yushchenko but also managed

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<sup>18</sup> Taras Kuzio, "From Kuchma to Yushchenko: Ukraine's 2004 Presidential Elections and the Orange Revolution," *Problems of Post-Communism* 52, no. 2 (2005): 29-44.

<sup>19</sup> See Marta Dyczok, "Breaking Through the Information Blockade: Election and Revolution in Ukraine 2004," in *Aspects of the Orange Revolution II: Information and Manipulation Strategies in the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections*, eds. Bohdan Harasymiw and Oleh S. Ilnytskyj (Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2014), 86.

<sup>20</sup> Ingmar Bredies, Andreas Umland, and Valentin Yakushik, *Aspects of the Orange Revolution V: Institutional Observation Reports on the 2004 Ukrainian Presidential Elections* (Stuttgart: ibidem Press, 2014), 160.

<sup>21</sup> Taras Kuzio, "Russian Policy Towards Ukraine During Elections," *Democratizatsiya* 13, no. 4 (2005): 491-517.

to explain “Kuchmagate” as part of the US plan to replace pro-Russian Yanukovych with pro-Western Yushchenko.<sup>22</sup>

However, despite all efforts by Russia, Ukrainian presidential elections 2004 turned out to be a surprise for all sides. No candidate gained majority during the first electoral round in October so there was a second round in November that was rumored to have mass falsification in support of Yanukovych. Unsurprisingly, Yanukovych won second round and Kyiv responded to his victory by mass protests with demands for fair elections. It should be said that in 2004 Ukraine’s state institutions sided with people. First, Ukrainian parliament (Verkhovna Rada) had announced it would not acknowledge final results and, afterwards, Ukrainian Supreme Court had introduced additional round of elections in December that resulted in Yushchenko’s victory that was worldwide interpreted as the first triumph of grassroots democracy in post-communist space. Unfortunately, it was short-term victory as Yushchenko and Tymoshenko who became Prime-Minister in new government failed to cooperate and produce coherent results in solving most outstanding issues such as corruption. The political crisis of Orange Coalition resulted in return of Yanukovych who had been in power until 2013 Euromaidan.

Russia was perhaps the one political actor who was most surprised and later alarmed by results of 2004 Orange Revolution in Ukraine and in the end decided to interpret it as West’s efforts at circling Russia with pro-Western regimes. Russia’s elites did not comprehend at the time that failure of Russia’s engagement in Ukraine was rooted in lack of understanding that Ukraine was in fact not Russia.<sup>23</sup> Orange Revolution was not an entirely unexpected phenomenon as it was result of long-lasting developments in Ukrainian politics including its elites, robust civil society and youth organizations.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Taras Kuzio, “Ukrainian Politicians Put the Squeeze on Civil Society,” *Radio Free Europe*, May 18, 2011, [http://www.rferl.org/content/ukrainian\\_politicians\\_puts\\_the\\_squeeze\\_on\\_civil\\_society/24178777.html](http://www.rferl.org/content/ukrainian_politicians_puts_the_squeeze_on_civil_society/24178777.html)

<sup>23</sup> See Yitzhak M. Brudny and Evgeny Finkel, “Why Ukraine Is Not Russia: Hegemonic National Identity and Democracy in Russia and Ukraine,” *East European Politics and Societies* 25, 2011, 813-33.

<sup>24</sup> For more background, see Andrew Wilson, *Ukraine’s Orange Revolution* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 25-51; Paul D’Anieri, *Understanding Ukrainian Politics: Power, Politics, and Institutional Design* (London: M.E. Sharpe, Inc., 2007).

### 3.2. Russian-Ukrainian Crisis 2014.

By 2013, Russia was completely certain that color revolutions in Eurasia were foreign-made and staged by Western powers in order to bring pro-Western regimes to power. The Revolution of Dignity or Euromaidan protests in the end of 2013 became a source of great headache to Russian elites that had already negotiated with Yanukovich that Ukraine is going to drop out of negotiations about signing EU Association Agreement and instead consider joining Russian initiative in Eurasia the Customs Union that in 2016 included Russia, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Armenia and Kyrgyzstan. Again as in 2004 Russia repeated same mistake of negotiating directly with political elites ignoring the attitude of Ukrainian people. It is a typical top-down perspective on politics that can be justified in centralized authoritarian states such as Russia but it has repeatedly failed to work in much more pluralistic society of Ukraine with multiple groups of interests. So when Yanukovich and Prime-Minister Nikolai Azarov announced there will be no signing of Association Agreement, Kyiv responded same as it did in 2004 only on much bigger scale especially after there were reports of police forces persecuting protesting students. By 2013 Yanukovich's regime had already been unpopular with multiple evidences of all-pervasive corruption so it did not take much for people to demand for Yanukovich to leave. Yanukovich tried to negotiate with protest leaders to bargain out staying in power until next elections but in the end he had to fled Kyiv in February 2014 and with assistance of Russian Security Services (as Putin smugly acknowledged in interview a year later) was transferred to Russia.<sup>25</sup>

While Ukraine was trying to recover from the change of regime and re-configure governmental apparatus, Russian soldiers took Crimea's local legislature in February 2014.<sup>26</sup> In March 2014 Crimea held referendum about joining the Russian Federation that got

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<sup>25</sup> "Crym: Put' na Rodinu," *Rossiia 1 TV Channel*, March 15, 2015, [http://russia.tv/video/show/brand\\_id/59195/episode\\_id/1180834](http://russia.tv/video/show/brand_id/59195/episode_id/1180834).

<sup>26</sup> Simon Shuster, "Putin's Man in Crimea Is Ukraine's Worst Nightmare," *Time*, March 10, 2014, <http://time.com/19097/putin-crimea-russia-ukraine-aksyonov/>.



approval of 96.7%.<sup>27</sup> Results of Crimean referendum have been much discussed and consensus that emerged has acknowledged that majority of Crimeans had probably genuinely desired joining Russia, however, astonishing figure of 96.7% still owed a lot to Russian soldiers or “green men” that were stationed in Crimea during referendum.<sup>28</sup> While international community was still shocked by Russia’s move and figuring out the proportional response to obvious violation of international law, Russia made another move into eastern Ukraine resulting in emergence of Donetsk and Luhansk People’s Republics in May 2014.<sup>29</sup> By 2016 there has been an overwhelming amount of evidence that “people’s republics” in Donbass would not survive that long without financial and military support of Russia that officially declared it did not have any stakes in Donbass conflict besides protection of Russian-speaking population. In July 2014 MH17 Malaysia Airlines commercial flight was shot over Donetsk region. In 2016 there still has been no official conclusion about who should be held responsible for this tragedy and death of 398 people but the popular consensus amongst experts has been that the shot was fired by Russian separatists who had come into possession of Russian missile “Buk” and due to incompetence confused MH17 commercial flight with Ukrainian military plane.<sup>30</sup> MH17 tragedy and humanitarian crisis in eastern Ukraine led to intervention by the EU, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Germany and France and negotiations on ceasefire. By 2016 there have been two ceasefire agreements (known as Minsk I and Minsk II) in September 2014 and February 2015 respectively with first having been violated almost

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<sup>27</sup> Ilya Somin, “Russian government agency reveals fraudulent nature of the Crimean referendum results,” *The Washington Post*, May 6, 2014, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/news/volokh-conspiracy/wp/2014/05/06/russian-government-agency-reveals-fraudulent-nature-of-the-crimean-referendum-results/>.

<sup>28</sup> “Crym: Put' na Rodinu,” *Rossiia 1 TV Channel*, March 15, 2015, [http://russia.tv/video/show/brand\\_id/59195/episode\\_id/1180834](http://russia.tv/video/show/brand_id/59195/episode_id/1180834).

<sup>29</sup> “DNR provozglasila sebja suverennym gosudarstvom,” *RIA Novosti*, May 11, 2014, <http://ria.ru/world/20140512/1007507367.html>.

<sup>30</sup> Pavel Fel’gengauer, “Malayziskiy Boeing – oshibka, kotoruju nikto ne priznaet,” *Novaja Gazeta*, July 21, 2014, <http://www.novayagazeta.ru/columns/64483.html>; “MH17 crash: Ukraine releases alleged intercepts,” *BBC News*, July 18, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-28362872>.

immediately and second still being in power in 2016 when the situation in eastern Ukraine remains highly uncertain.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> See “Ukraine crisis: Fighting in Donetsk despite ceasefire,” *BBC News*, September 14, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29195880>; “Details of the Ukraine Cease-Fire Negotiated in Minsk,” *The New York Times*, February 12, 2015, <http://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/13/world/europe/ukraine-cease-fire-negotiated-in-minsk.html>.

## Chapter 4. Theory.

### 4.1. Democratisation and Nation-Building in Post-Communism.

Theoretical framework for the first research question comes from the theory of democratic transition in post-communist context where nation-building and national identification were considered important factors. As noticed by Dankwart A. Rustow, there are quite different directions of research in democratisation that distinguish between generic (what gives birth to democracy) and function (what makes democracies succeed) theories of democracy.<sup>32</sup> In general democratisation theories are categorized as either structuralist or agency-oriented approaches that see emergence of democratic society dependent on pre-existing conditions or conscious actions of political and social actors respectively.<sup>33</sup> Structuralist theories of democracy include well-known Seymour Martin Lipset's modernization theory about existing causal links between socioeconomic development and democratisation where democracy is perceived as a product of modernization forces and social changes they bring such as industrialization, urbanization, increasing levels of income, literacy, and rise of middle class.<sup>34</sup> There has been quite a lot of skepticism about direct causality between socioeconomic determinants and democracy that has criticized Lipset's thesis for being overdeterministic and ignoring role of political actors and their agency.<sup>35</sup> One of the most known challenges of modernization theory came from work of Adam Przeworski and his colleagues who argued that socioeconomic conditions were not decisive to the emergence of democracy, although, higher levels of economic development were crucial for

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<sup>32</sup> Dankwart A. Rustow, "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model," *Comparative Politics* 2, no. 3 (1970): 337-63.

<sup>33</sup> More detailed overview of democratisation theories and recent trends can be found in Jean Grugel and Matthew Louis Bishop, *Democratisation: A Critical Introduction* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); Sujian Guo and Gary A. Stradiotto, *Democratic Transition: Modes and Outcomes* (London: Routledge, 2014); Jørgen Møller and Svend-Erik Skaaning, *Democracy and Democratisation in Comparative Perspective: Conceptions, Conjunctures, Causes, and Consequences* (New York: Routledge, 2013).

<sup>34</sup> Seymour Martin Lipset, "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," *American Political Science Review* 53, no. 1 (1959): 69-105.

<sup>35</sup> Grugel and Bishop, *Democratisation: A Critical Introduction*, 77-78.

democracies to endure.<sup>36</sup> Another major branch of structuralist approach to democratisation includes historical sociology and role of social forces proposed by Barrington Moore who was the one to introduce the famous thesis “no bourgeoisie – no democracy”<sup>37</sup>. Over time, Moore’s structuralist social forces approach also has taken more marginalized position as academic debates within the field shifted to post-structuralist direction and grew more aware of the role of agency and skeptical about neo-Marxist approach to analysis of political transformations.<sup>38</sup>

The other major direction in the field of democratisation known as democratic transition approach or transitology considers democratisation as three-stage process (opening, breakthrough, consolidation) that is broader than existing structural conditions and which depends on intentions and conscious actions of political actors.<sup>39</sup> Within this school the process of democratic transition is considered as movement “aimed at establishing a democratic political system, initiated either from above (elite driven) or below (mass driven) or a combination of both”<sup>40</sup> that focuses on interaction processes and bargaining between political actors that ultimately can lead to the initiation of democratic reforms. Although democratic transition is a process that in theory can be initiated from either top or bottom, elite-driven democratisation and role of political elites takes up a major part of transitology research supported by empirical evidence about key role of elites in triggering authoritarian regime transformations whereas strong civil society and wide-spread support of democratisation is considered important for the democracy consolidation and its survival in

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<sup>36</sup> Adam Przeworski, Michael E. Alvarez, José Antonio Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 137.

<sup>37</sup> Barrington Moore, *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1966), p. 418.

<sup>38</sup> Grugel and Bishop, *Democratisation: A Critical Introduction*, 84-85.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm,” *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (2002): 5-21.

<sup>40</sup> Guo and Stradiotto, *Democratic Transition: Modes and Outcomes*, 19.

long-term.<sup>41</sup> Democratic transition gained its popularity in 1980s with the “third wave” of democracy that included Latin America and South Europe and the “fourth wave” of ex-communist countries but has been questioned for its utility with the apparent failure of suggested course of democratic transition in majority of ex-Soviet countries and appearance of multiple types of hybrid regimes that have been neither pure democratic nor authoritarian ones.<sup>42</sup> This study is done following Rustow’s model that described democratic transition as ongoing three-phases process that can take decades before (if ever) it becomes consolidated. Rustow’s model includes preparatory, decision, and habituation phases where the last one roughly coincides with democratic consolidation described by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan as democracy becoming “the only game in town”<sup>43</sup>.

Rustow’s model of democratic transition is specifically interesting for this research because he was the one to suggest in early 1970s that not economic or other structural determinants but “national unity” or “need for consensus” was one crucial condition for successful democratic transition that would prevent separatism and civil wars. Rustow’s attention to the national unity in many ways foresaw the problems that democratic transition would experience in post-communist states with what Linz and Stepan described as “stateness”<sup>44</sup> problem i.e. unresolved differences about established territorial boundaries and who should be included in political community of citizens. Later processes of transition in 1990s would attract even more attention to the fact that previous “third wave” of democratisation involved states that almost all had been nations with stable national identities prior to their transitions, thus escaping the problem that post-communist states had to face undergoing not only

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<sup>41</sup> For role of elites in downfall of authoritarian regimes see Andrea Kendall-Taylor and Erica Frantz, “How Autocracies Fall,” *The Washington Quarterly* 37, no. 1 (2014): 35-47; Natasha Erzow and Erica Frantz, *Dictators and Dictatorships: Understanding Authoritarian Regimes and Their Leaders* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group, 2014), 82-86; Grugel and Bishop, *Democratisation: A Critical Introduction*, 89.

<sup>42</sup> Carothers, “The End of the Transition Paradigm”.

<sup>43</sup> Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 6.

<sup>44</sup> Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*, 16.

processes of political transformation and economic reforms but also nation-building.<sup>45</sup> The problem of “triple transition” in post-communist states and incomplete democratic transition in such divided states as Ukraine has contributed to the suggestions that it would be difficult to move from transition to consolidation without “prior consensus on overarching national identity and boundaries”<sup>46</sup>. Following this logic, there has been a considerable number of works that has stressed importance of national consensus and unity in democratic consolidation. Given the wide range of definitions of nationalism and nations and often exclusive nature of many types of nationalism, most scholars try to avoid using term “nationalism” and “national identity” in their works. Rustow goes with using Deutsch’s concept of national unity that does not actually imply “shared attitudes and beliefs”<sup>47</sup> but rather the efficiency of communication on national level and ability to reach consensus during the process of deliberation.<sup>48</sup> Some scholars prefer to use the term of “community”<sup>49</sup> as, for example, Eric Martinez-Herrera when talking about identification with David Easton’s “political community”<sup>50</sup> that includes all individuals that are ruled and represented by the structures of a political system or Dieler Fuchs that replaces “national identity” with sense of community.<sup>51</sup> In general, the hypothesized benevolent relationship between national identification and democracy can be described by Martinez-Herrera’s “virtuous circle”<sup>52</sup> that suggests there can exist “non-recursive” relationship between identification with political

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<sup>45</sup> With exception for Spain. For more details, see Terry Lynn Karl and Philippe C. Schmitter, “The Conceptual Travel of Transitologists and Consolidologists: How Far to the East Should They Attempt to Go?,” *Slavic Review* 53, 1994: 173-85.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 178.

<sup>47</sup> Rustow, “Transitions to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model,” 350-52.

<sup>48</sup> Karl W. Deutsch, *Nationalism and Social Communication: An Inquiry into the Foundations of Nationalism* (London: The MIT Press, 1966), 188.

<sup>49</sup> Eric Martinez-Herrera, “Competing National Identities and Democratisation: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis,” in *Nationalism and Democracy: Dichotomies, Complementarities, Oppositions*, eds. Andre Lecours and Luis Moreno (New York: Routledge, 2010), 80-100.

<sup>50</sup> David Easton, *A System Analysis of Political Life* (New York: Wiley, 1965).

<sup>51</sup> Dieler Fuchs, “The Democratic Culture of Unified Germany,” in *Critical Citizens. Global Support for Democratic Governance*, ed. Pippa Norris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 124.

<sup>52</sup> Martinez-Herrera, “Competing National Identities and Democratisation: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis,” 91-93.

community and support for democracy that is reinforced by “common good perception” and “political community pride”. The study of Ukraine during Russian-Ukrainian crisis can be a worthy contribution to the studies of how national identification and consensus can interact with democratic consolidation given the identity split of Ukraine and its incomplete democratic transition that could have been considered given a new start in 2004 following the Orange Revolution but never reaching the stage of democratic consolidation/habituations and experiencing degradation in 2010-13 period following return of Yanukovich to the power.

#### **4.2. Defining and Measuring Democratic Consolidation.**

The second research question looks at theories of democratic consolidation and how to identify it in recently democratized countries. Democratic consolidation much as democracy itself is an ambiguous concept with multiple definitions related to various dimensions of political life such as wide-spread diffusion of democratic values, decentralization, emergence of strong political party system, and dominance of pro-democratic actors in political life.<sup>53</sup> It can be said though that during democratic consolidation phase “many uncertainties of the transition period are progressively diminished” as “new regime becomes institutionalized, framework of open and competitive political expression becomes internalized, and preceding uncertainties and insecurities are overcome”<sup>54</sup>. Generally speaking, democratic consolidation is “expected persistence of liberal democracy”<sup>55</sup>. However, proper understanding of democratic consolidation also depends on the type of political regime such as autocracy, electoral democracy, liberal democracy, and advanced democracy.<sup>56</sup> Depending on the type of political regime democratic consolidation can take on different meanings. In case of autocracy and electoral

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<sup>53</sup> Andreas Schedler, “What is Democratic Consolidation?,” *Journal of Democracy* 9, 1998.

<sup>54</sup> Lawrence Whitehead, “The Consolidation of Fragile Democracies,” European Consortium for Political Research, 1988, 6.

<sup>55</sup> Carsten Q. Schneider, *The Consolidation of Democracy: Comparing Europe and Latin America* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 10.

<sup>56</sup> Schedler, “What is Democratic Consolidation?”.

democracy it has negative meaning as it signifies prevention of democratic rollback and deterioration close to original meaning of the concept when it emerged in 1980s.<sup>57</sup> In more advanced democracies democratic consolidation takes on more positive meaning of deepening existing democratic regimes. Democratic consolidation is a long-term process and in general scholars agree that it takes about 10-15 years from the beginning of democratic transition before democratisation reached its final phase.

As there are multiple understandings of democratic consolidation it can be difficult to figure out how to identify and measure it in practice. There are various opinions on how democratic consolidation can be measured. Linz and Stepan introduce three components of democratic consolidation (i) behavioral (“when no significant actor attempts to achieve their objectives by creating a nondemocratic regime or turning to violence or foreign intervention to secede from the state”), (ii) attitudinal (“strong majority of public opinion holds the belief that democratic procedures and institutions are the most appropriate way to govern”), (iii) constitutional (“governmental and nongovernmental actors become subjected to resolution of conflict within the specific laws, procedures, and institutions sanctioned by new democratic process”).<sup>58</sup> Schneider introduces twelve indicators of democratic consolidation that should be taken into account whenever assessments of consolidation are done.<sup>59</sup> These are:

- No significant political party advocates changes in the existing constitution.
- Regular elections are held and their outcomes are respected by those in position of public authority and major opposition parties.
- The elections have been free and fair.
- No significant parties or groups reject previous electoral conditions.
- Electoral volatility has diminished significantly.
- Elected officials and representatives are not constrained in their behavior by non-elected veto groups within the country.
- A first rotation-in-power or significant shift in alliances of parties in power has occurred within the scope of the rules already established.

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<sup>57</sup> Schneider, *The Consolidation of Democracy: Comparing Europe and Latin America*, 11.

<sup>58</sup> Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*, 6-7.

<sup>59</sup> Schneider, *The Consolidation of Democracy: Comparing Europe and Latin America*, 18.



- A second rotation-in-power or significant shift in alliances of parties in power has occurred within the scope of the rules already established.

Agreement, formal and informal, has been reached on the rules governing the:

- Formation of associations and their behavior.
- Executive format.
- Territorial division of competence.
- Rules of ownership and access to mass media.

Although there is no uniform opinion on what indicators are the best in assessment of democratic consolidation, there are two main dimension that gain most attention from scholars – party system and wide acceptance of democratic rules (or constitutional and attitudinal elements of democratic consolidation according to Linz and Stepan). As it was noted by Geoffrey Pridham, “focusing on political parties and party systems must remain a basic if not the central theme for examining not only the quality of liberal democracy in question but also its progress towards an achievement of democratic consolidation”<sup>60</sup>. Political parties are considered to be key actors in democratic consolidation as they are key agents in “institutionalization of new regime”<sup>61</sup>, ensure links between government and society and act as channels for participation. A strong party system is necessary for consolidation of democratic regime along with independent political parties, internal democracy and rooting of political parties in society. Another popular suggestion for measuring democratic consolidation follows from its definition as mass acceptance of democratic rules, support of democratic institutions and satisfaction with their performance as primary indicator.<sup>62</sup> While public acceptance is recognized as not a sufficient condition of democratic consolidation it still remains an important indicator.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Geoffrey Pridham, “Southern Europe democracies on the road to consolidation: a comparative assessment of the role of political parties,” in *Securing Democracy: Political Parties and Democratic Consolidation in Southern Europe*, ed. Geoffrey Pridham (New York: Routledge, 2016), 2.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>62</sup> Rustow, “Transition to Democracy: Toward a Dynamic Model”.

<sup>63</sup> Michael Burton, Richard Gunther, and John Higley, “Introduction: Elite Transformations and Democratic Regimes,” in *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*, eds. John Higley and Richard Gunther (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 15.

## Chapter 5. Methodology and Limitations.

The first research question suggests that Russian-Ukrainian conflict and resurgence of Russian neo-imperialism have had consolidating impact on Ukrainian pro-Western/pro-Russian identity split by creating support for integration with the European Union amongst previously pro-Russian regions. The second research question is concerned with whether Euromaidan and more pro-European national identification could have had positive effects on democratic consolidation in Ukraine by strengthening its attitudinal (support for democracy) and constitutional (party system) components theorized by Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan.<sup>64</sup>

Methodology for the first research question about changes in divided Ukrainian national identity since the beginning of Russian-Ukrainian conflict includes statistical analysis that estimates variations in Ukrainian public attitude alongside three indicators. The first indicator is whether Russian-Ukrainian crisis has resulted in stronger support of the integration with the European Union (EU) and less support for integration with the Customs Union/Eurasian Economic Union (CU) on the regional level. The attitude towards integration into supranational unions in Ukraine during 2014-15 has been assessed using data from International Republican Institute (IRI) that consistently made public opinion surveys in Ukraine in March, April and September 2014 and July and September 2015.<sup>65</sup> These surveys

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<sup>64</sup> Linz and Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America and Post-Communist Europe*, 6-7.

<sup>65</sup> “Public Opinion Survey Residents of Ukraine. March 14-26, 2014,” International Republican Institute, March 2014, <http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/2014%20April%205%20IRI%20Public%20Opinion%20Survey%20of%20Ukraine,%20March%2014-26,%202014.pdf>; “Public Opinion Survey Residents of Ukraine. April 3-12, 2014,” International Republican Institute, April 2014, <http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/2014%20April%2024%20Survey%20of%20Residents%20of%20Ukraine,%20April%203-12,%202014.pdf>; “Public Opinion Survey Residents of Ukraine. September 12-25, 2014,” International Republican Institute, September 2014, <http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/2014%20October%2014%20Survey%20of%20Residents%20of%20Ukraine,%20September%2012-25,%202014.pdf>; “Public Opinion Survey Residents of Ukraine. July 16-30, 2015,” International Republican Institute, July 2015, [http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/2015-08-24\\_survey\\_of\\_residents\\_of\\_ukraine\\_july\\_16-30\\_2015.pdf](http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/2015-08-24_survey_of_residents_of_ukraine_july_16-30_2015.pdf); “Public Opinion Survey Residents of Ukraine. September 7-21, 2015,” International Republican Institute, September 2015, [http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/2014-10-14\\_survey\\_of\\_ukrainian\\_public\\_opinion\\_september\\_7-21\\_2015.pdf](http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/2014-10-14_survey_of_ukrainian_public_opinion_september_7-21_2015.pdf)

were done in form of interviews and included around 1200 respondents across Ukraine excluding Crimea since April 2014 and Donetsk and Luhansk regions in July and September 2015. The question pertinent to integration was asked in all five surveys and was phrased as “If Ukraine was able to enter only one international economic union, which of the following should it be?”. The same question was also asked on regional level in March and April 2014 and July 2015. IRI used standard framework of “four-region” Ukraine that included “West” (Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivsk, Khmelnytsky, Lviv, Rivne, Ternopil, Transcarpathia, Volyn), “Center” (Cherkassy, Chernihiv, Kirovograd, Kyiv, Poltava, Sumy, Vinnytsia, Zhytomyr, Kyiv city), “South” (Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odesa, Zaporizhzhia), and “East” (Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv).

The second indicator is whether there have been significant changes in how Ukrainian view Russia and the EU. IRI’s public opinion surveys allow to evaluate how the attitude towards Russia and the EU has changed on the national level. Four public opinion surveys conducted in March and April 2014 and July and September 2015 contained a query about how respondents would evaluate their attitude toward other countries estimating their feelings as “warm”, “neutral”, “cold” and “difficult to answer”<sup>66</sup>.

Finally, the third indicator is whether there have been changes in voting patterns for pro-Western and pro-Russian candidates on regional level during presidential elections 2014 and support for pro-Western and pro-Russian political parties during parliamentary elections of 2014 and local elections of 2015. The data about elections was taken directly from Central Elections Committee of Ukraine. Candidates for presidential elections and political parties have been characterized as pro-Western/pro-Ukrainian and pro-Russian based on the position they have taken in regards to the integration with the EU or the CU and dominating narratives during their electoral campaigns that identify Ukrainian future either as part of European community or Russian world. The analysis has been concerned with how voting preferences for pro-Western and pro-Russian candidates changed in 2014 in regards to previously

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<sup>66</sup> In 2015, IRI added two additional dimensions to this scale “very warm” and “very cold”. In this research four categories “warm” and “very warm” together with “cold” and “very cold” are unified into two categories of “warm” and “cold”

existing regional division that can be demonstrated by analyzing data of 2004 and 2010 presidential elections. The regional model used during analysis of elections was “eight-region” Ukraine suggested by Barrington and Herron which was better at describing eight distinct sets of cohesive attitudes and behavior coming from different history, economy and demographic indicators that are often blurred and overlooked in “two-” and “four-region” models.<sup>67</sup> “Eight-region” model divides Ukraine into West (Ivano-Frankivsk, Lviv, Ternopil), West-central (Vinnytsia, Rivne, Zhytomyr, Khmelnytsky, Volyn), Southwest (Chernivtsi, Transcarpathia), North (Cherkassy, Chernihiv, Kyiv city, Kyiv region, Kirovograd, Poltava, Sumy), East (Donetsk, Luhansk), East-central (Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Kharkiv), South (Kherson, Mykolaiv, Odesa) and Crimea. For reasons related to Russian annexation in Crimea and military conflict in Donbass region, presidential and parliamentary elections 2014 took place only in seven regions (excluding Crimea), while local elections 2015 represented only six regions excluding both Crimea and East (Donetsk and Luhansk).

The second research question is concerned with state of democratic consolidation in Ukraine using Linz and Stepan’s three-component model. It is quite self-evident that Russian-Ukrainian crisis has exerted negative influence in terms of behavioral component of democratic consolidation that presupposes absence of groups that want to secede or challenge existing political regime with opposite situation in Ukraine in early 2016 when secessionist regimes still occupy Donetsk and Luhansk regions. It is, however, less clear how crisis have affected attitudinal and constitutional elements. The data for attitudinal dimension or democratic preferences on regional level was taken from Ukrainian municipal polls in 2015 and 2016 conducted by IRI.<sup>68</sup> In terms of political parties or constitutional dimension that

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<sup>67</sup> Barrington and Herron, “One Ukraine or Many? Regionalism in Ukraine and Its Political Consequences.”

<sup>68</sup> “Ukrainian Municipal Survey 2015,” International Republican Institute, [http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/2015-05-19\\_ukraine\\_national\\_municipal\\_survey\\_march\\_2-20\\_2015.pdf](http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/2015-05-19_ukraine_national_municipal_survey_march_2-20_2015.pdf); “Ukrainian Municipal Survey 2016,” International Republican Institute, [http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/municipal\\_poll\\_2016\\_-\\_public\\_release.pdf](http://www.iri.org/sites/default/files/wysiwyg/municipal_poll_2016_-_public_release.pdf)

emphasizes behavior of political actors, the selected method was literature review that described post-crisis party system in Ukraine.

There are some important limitations to this research. In terms of researching state of democratic consolidation in Ukraine, there is a time factor that does not allow to fully consider how well or badly the process is going. Most scholars agree that in order to properly assess democratic transition and consolidation no less than ten years are needed. Therefore, research's finding should be interpreted as commentary on ongoing democratic consolidation process rather than a final verdict about its success or failure.

In terms of democratisation theory, research mostly focuses on domestic factors such as national identification and political actors and ignores external determinants of democratisation. There is an extensive literature about role of external factors in post-communist democratisation in Eastern Europe. Prior to the collapse of communism, the consensus was that external factors could create a “favorable environment”<sup>69</sup> but still domestic politics mattered more. However, further studies revealed that “international factors have had a more persistent and profound effect”<sup>70</sup> in post-communist transition than in any other democratic transition wave. Extensive analysis of role of NGOs, international organizations and Western states allowed renowned scholar in post-communist studies and democracy Jan Zielonka to conclude that “democracy in Eastern Europe is to a significant extent foreign made”<sup>71</sup>. The EU is often considered as the second most influential actor in democracy promotion due to its soft power that was laid in the foundation of European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) and later Eastern Partnership (EaP) policies designed to promote democracy and rule of law in ex-communist neighborhood. Following Ukrainian crisis there have been criticisms of ENP and EaP that mainly focused on weak motivation of these

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<sup>69</sup> See Geoffrey Pridham and Tatu Vanhanen, *Democratisation in Eastern Europe: Domestic and International Perspectives* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 11.

<sup>70</sup> Geoffrey Pridham, Eric Herring, and George Sanford, *Building Democracy? The International Dimension of Democratisation in Eastern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1994), 29.

<sup>71</sup> Jan Zielonka, “Conclusions: Foreign-made Democracy, in Democratic Consolidation”, in *Eastern Europe. Vol 2. International and Transnational Factors*, eds. Jan Zielonka and Alex Pravda, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 511.

programs for Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova and South Caucasus as they do not offer possibility of future membership. Nevertheless, as it has been shown by events of Ukrainian Euromaidan in 2013 European way still represents a lot of appeal for post-communist societies especially in comparison with conservative and increasingly chauvinistic Russia. There are many studies of EU's instruments involved in democracy promotion that can be briefly described as incentive-based (conditionality) and persuasion strategies.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> See Richard Rose, William Mishler, and Christian Haerpfer, *Democracy and Its Alternatives: Understanding Post-Communist Societies* (Baltimore, MO: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 90.

## **Chapter 6. Ukrainian Crisis and National Identification in Ukraine.**

The first research question refers to effects Russian-Ukrainian crisis had on identity split in Ukraine and whether there has been more consolidation and less division in national identification especially in the regions that traditionally voted in support of pro-Russian candidates and political parties. There are three indicators that are used to determine current state of Ukrainian identity split. The first one is support for integration with international unions such as the European Union (EU) and the Customs Union (CU) demonstrating whether Russian-Ukrainian crisis has resulted in stronger support of the integration with the EU and less support for integration with the CU on national and regional level. The second indicator is how Ukrainians perceive Russia and the EU after the start of the conflict. The third indicator is whether there have been changes in usual regional distribution of pro-Western/pro-Russian votes during presidential elections of 2014 and regional support of pro-Western/pro-Russian political parties during parliamentary elections in 2014 and local election in 2015.

### **6.1. Russia and the EU: Where Ukraine Should Belong.**

The results of IRI's public survey on national level (Fig. 1) demonstrates there has been a considerable change in Ukrainian attitude starting from the beginning of Russian-Ukrainian crisis in March 2014 as support for integration with the EU started to rapidly grow simultaneously with decreasing support for membership in the CU.

On the regional level, the picture is more complicated. In March 2014 (Fig. 2) idea of integration with the EU enjoyed support in western and central Ukraine, however, eastern and southern Ukraine still clearly preferred integration with Russia and the CU. In April 2014 (Fig. 3) the situation stayed the same, although support for the CU in southern regions started to decline. A year later in July 2015 (Fig. 4) public opinion's survey demonstrated that western, central and southern Ukraine gave preference for integration with the EU and, although majority respondents in eastern Ukraine still indicated the CU as their first choice, their support of the CU declined to almost half of what it was back in 2014.

Figure 1. Support for integration processes on the national level, 2014-2015.

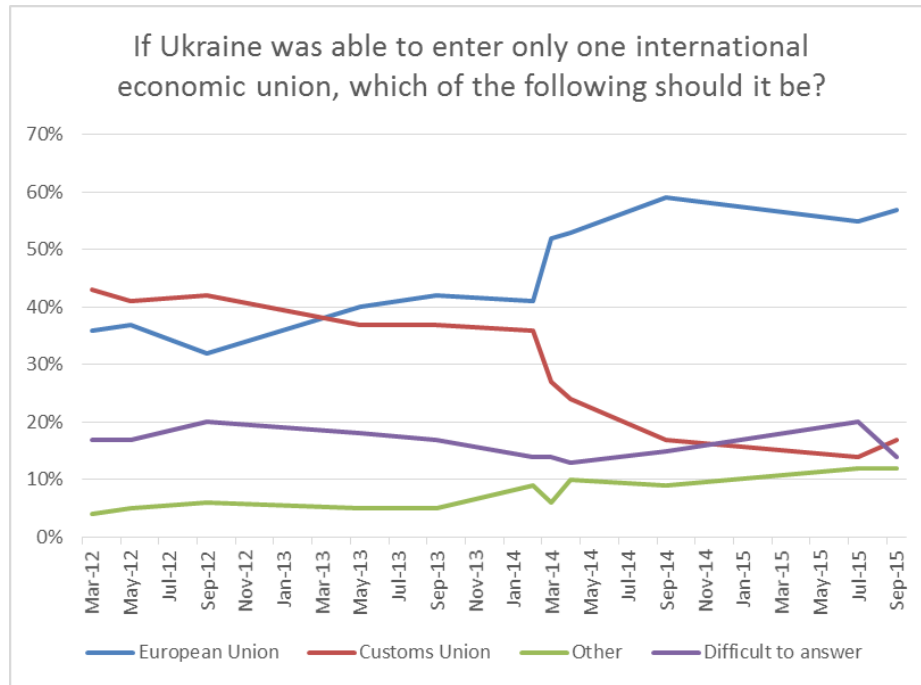
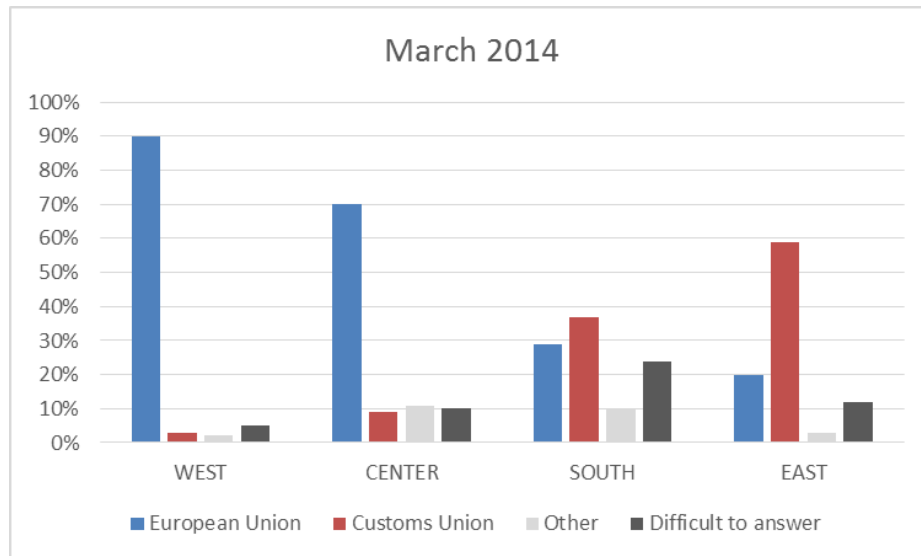
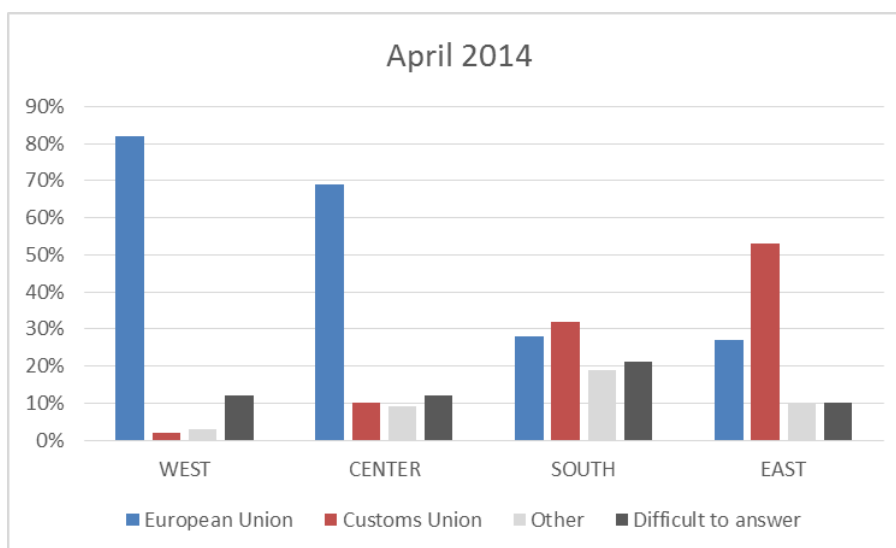
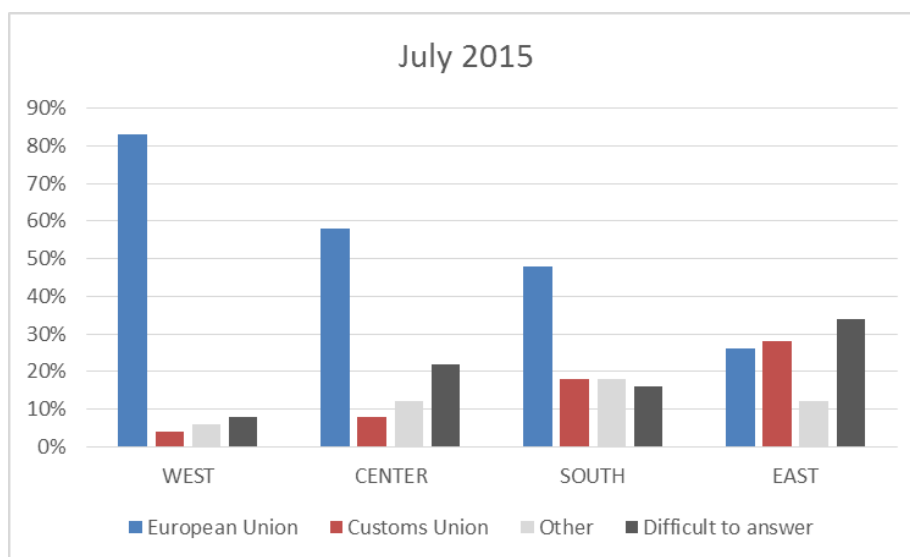


Figure 2. Support for integration processes, regional level, March 2014



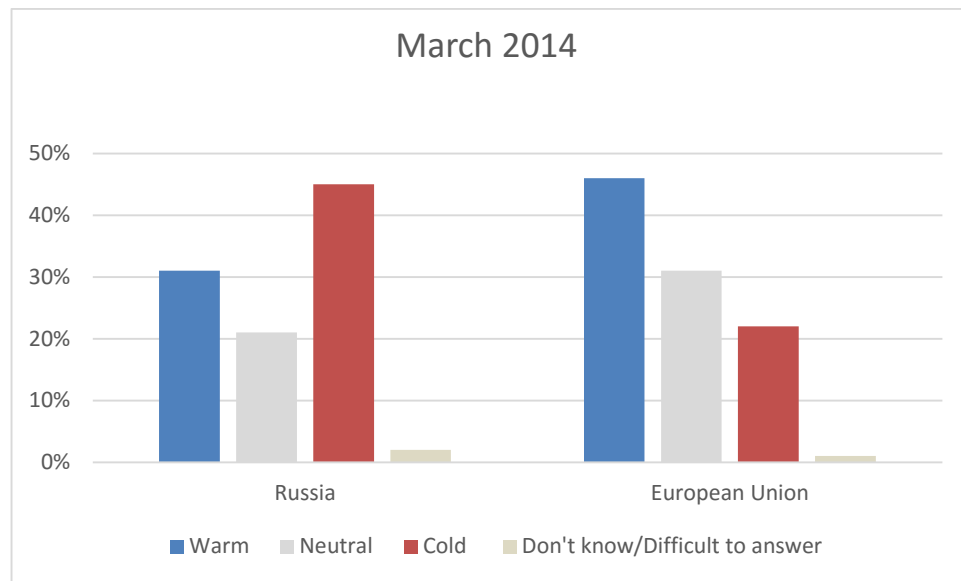
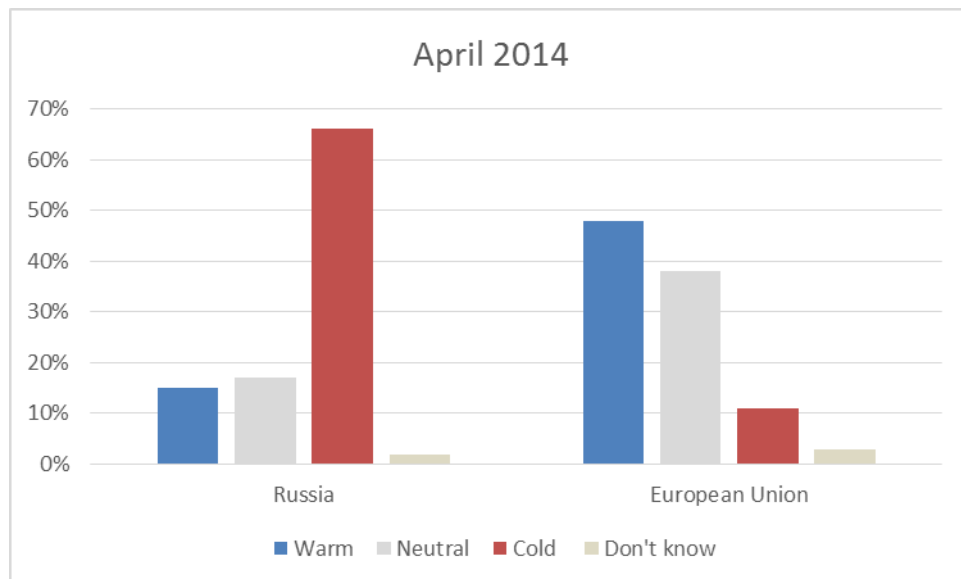


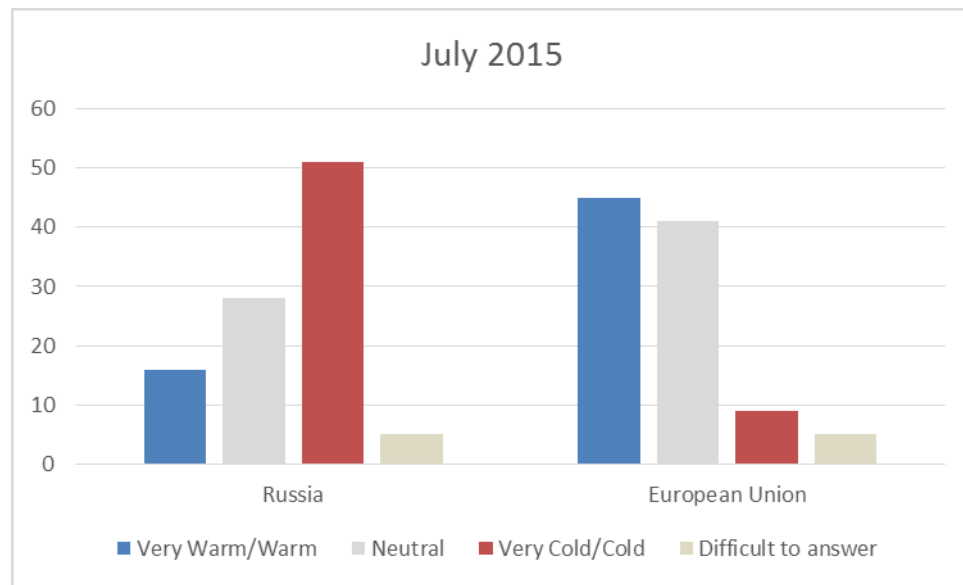
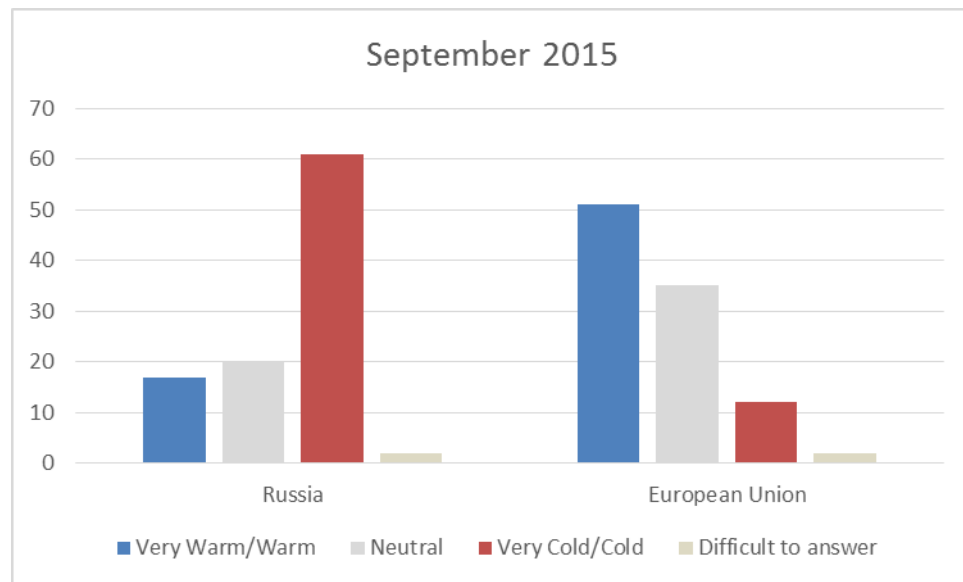
*Figure 3. Support for integration processes, regional level, April 2014**Figure 4. Support for integration processes, regional level, July 2015*

In March 2014 (Fig. 5) around half of Ukrainian participants in IRI's public survey (45%) described their feelings towards Russia as "cold" and only 31% still felt "warm" about their neighbour. The situation got worse in April 2014 (Fig. 6) that coincided with the beginning of military actions in eastern Ukraine as around 66% of Ukrainians were feeling "cold" towards Russia with only 15% still describing their attitude as "warm". The disapproval figures for Russia remained stable a year later when surveys' results demonstrated that in July (Fig. 7) and September 2015 (Fig. 8) still around 60% of respondents were feeling "cold" about Russia.

The EU has enjoyed stable support getting "warm" responses from around 50% of respondents during 2014 and 2015. It should be noted that, although, support for the EU has not increased significantly from the beginning of the crisis, negative attitude and "cold" feelings towards the EU have dropped almost by half since April 2014 and remained at low point of 10%.

To summarize, results from 2014-15 surveys on both integration and foreign policy orientation in Ukraine allow to suggest that: a). Ukrainian regional division about integration with the EU or the CU that existed prior to 2014 lost much of its actuality by 2015 as three (western, southern and center) out of four regions in Ukraine have supported idea of European integration, while popularity of the CU in eastern Ukraine has fallen by 50%; b). Russia's appeal as external actor and regional superpower in Ukraine has experienced a strong fall as only around 15% of Ukrainian still see Russian as benevolent power.

*Figure 5. Attitude towards Russia and EU, March 2014**Figure 6. Attitude towards Russia and EU, April 2014*

*Figure 7. Attitude towards Russia and EU, July 2015**Figure 8. Attitude towards Russia and EU, September 2015*

## **6.2. Pro-Western vs. Pro-Russian Presidential Candidates in 2014 Presidential Elections.**

2004 presidential elections were a turning point for Ukrainian society as struggle for fair elections brought first Ukrainian Maidan or ‘Orange’ Revolution to the start. 2004 presidential elections were an opposition between pro-Russian candidate Viktor Yanukovich and pro-Western one Viktor Yushchenko. The first round of 2004 presidential elections on October 31 was inconclusive as no candidate gained majority so elections went to the second round in November that ended with Central Elections Committee announcing Yanukovich as the winner. Yanukovich’s victory triggered mass protests in Kiev that accused Yanukovich in electoral fraud. Verkhovna Rada (Ukraine’s legislature) refused to acknowledge results of elections and the Supreme Court of Ukraine ruled out that results were falsified so there was another round of elections on December 26 that brought up another winner Victor Yushchenko. 2004 presidential elections demonstrated existing regional divide as western, central and northern Ukraine voted for pro-Western/pro-Ukrainian candidate, while eastern and southern Ukraine and Crimea clearly preferred pro-Russian candidate (Fig. 9).<sup>73</sup>

2010 presidential elections also could have been described as stand-off between pro-Russian candidate Viktor Yanukovich and pro-Western/pro-Ukrainian candidate Yulia Tymoshenko that resulted in victory of Yanukovich in second round.<sup>74</sup> The regional division between regions represented approximately the same picture as it was in 2004 (Fig. 10).

2014 presidential elections were held amidst Russian-Ukrainian crisis, therefore, strongly influenced by tensions between Russia and Ukraine, Crimea’s annexations and presence of Russian military in eastern Ukraine.<sup>75</sup> 2014 elections excluded Crimea and only around 20% of population in Donbass region were able to participate due to the threat of violence from

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<sup>73</sup> All data on elections is taken from Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine, Presidential Elections 2004, <http://www.cvk.gov.ua/pls/vp2004/>

<sup>74</sup> Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine, Presidential Elections 2010, [http://www.cvk.gov.ua/vp\\_2010/](http://www.cvk.gov.ua/vp_2010/)

<sup>75</sup> Central Electoral Commission of Ukraine, Presidential Elections 2014, [http://www.cvk.gov.ua/vp\\_2014/](http://www.cvk.gov.ua/vp_2014/)

separatist forces. Majority of candidates used pro-Western/pro-Ukrainian discourse in their campaigns with only exception of Mykhailo Dobkin from Party of Regions and Petro Simonenko from the Communist Party of Ukraine (he actually withdrew from elections but did it after deadline of May 1, 2014 so his name was still in ballots on election day May 25, 2014). Unlike other candidates, Simonenko and Dobkin promised revival of partnership with Russia, membership in the CU and posed against integration with the EU which allowed to define them as pro-Russian candidates in 2014 presidential elections.<sup>76</sup> Other candidates that gained over 1% in 2014 elections included Petro Poroshenko, Yulia Tymoshenko, Oleh Lyashko, Anatoly Hrytsenko, Serhiy Tihipko, Vadim Rabinovych, Olga Bogomolets, and Oleh Tyahnybok all are defined as pro-Western/pro-Ukrainian as they all supported further integration with the EU, NATO and emphasized importance of Ukraine's sovereignty and unity. It can be seen that during 2014 presidential elections (Fig. 11) regional division became almost non-existent as candidates with pro-Western narratives won in each of seven participating regions (with exception of Crimea and taking into account low participation of East that included Donetsk and Luhansk).

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<sup>76</sup> See "Dobkin obeshaet Ukraine federalizatsiju i vstuplenie v Tamozhennyi Soyuz," *Ukrainskaja Pravda*, March 31, 2014, <http://www.pravda.com.ua/rus/news/2014/03/31/7020915/>; "Simonenko hochet, chtoby Ukraina zhila bez prezidenta i v soyze s Rossiei," *Segodnya.ua*, April 7, 2014, <http://www.segodnya.ua/politics/pnews/simonenko-hochet-chtoby-ukraina-zhila-bez-prezidenta-i-v-soyuze-s-rossiey-510729.html>

Figure 9. Presidential Elections, 2004. Regional Voting. Additional Round (December 26, 2014).

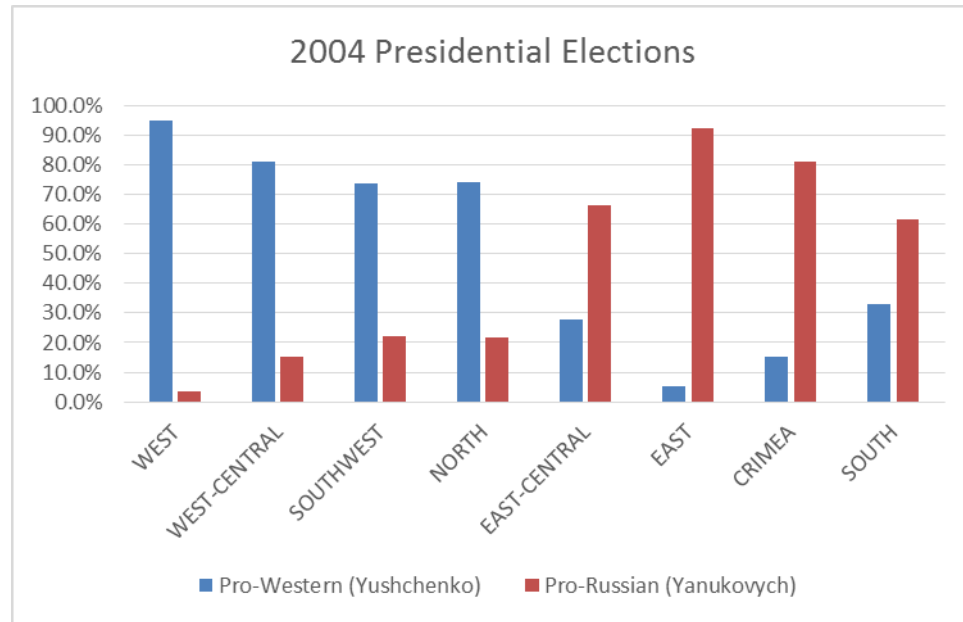


Figure 10. Presidential Elections, 2010. Regional Voting. Second Round.

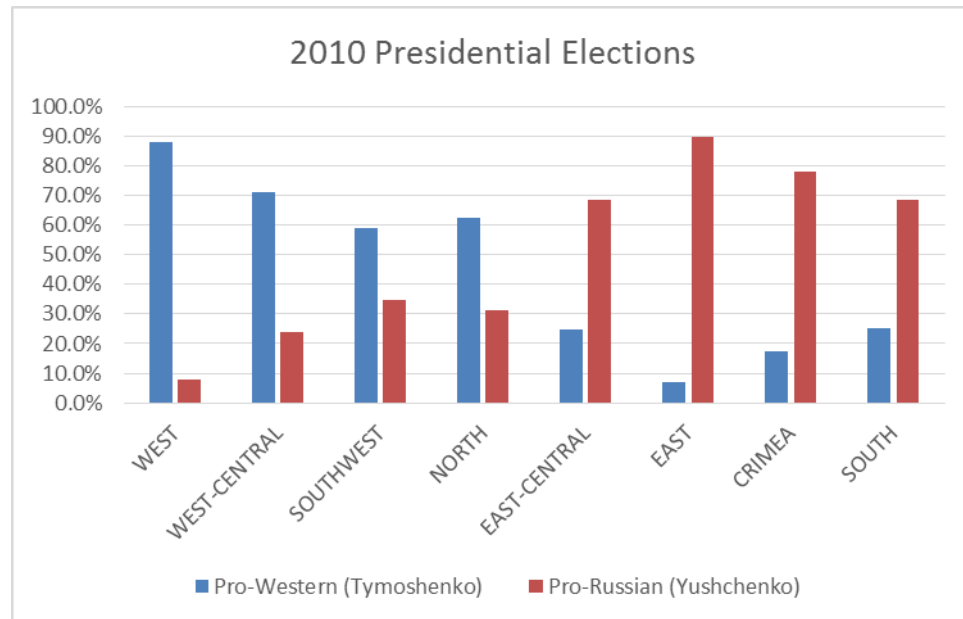


Figure 11. Presidential Elections, 2014. Regional Voting. First Round.

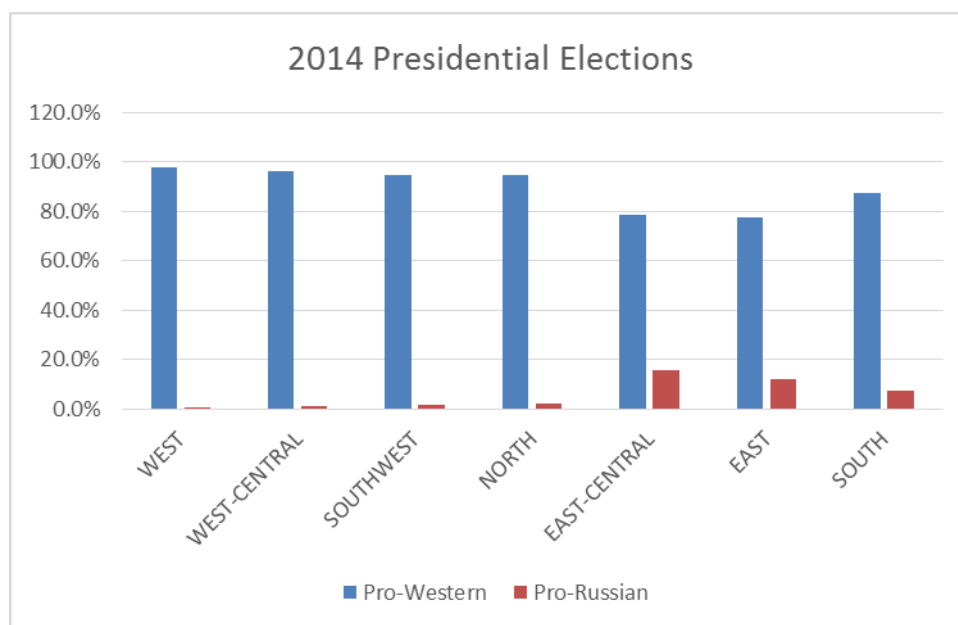


Table 1. Presidential Elections, 2014. Regional Voting. First Round.

	Pro-Western	Pro-Russian
WEST	97.6%	0.3%
WEST-CENTRAL	96.1%	1.2%
SOUTHWEST	94.7%	1.9%
NORTH	94.7%	2.2%
EAST-CENTRAL	78.4%	15.7%
EAST	77.8%	12.3%
SOUTH	87.3%	7.2%



Table 2. Presidential Elections 2014, First Round.

	2014 Presidential Elections											
	Pro-Western	Pro-Russian	Poroshenko	Timoshenko	Lyashko	Hrytsenko	Tihipko	Dobkin	Rabinovych	Bogomolets	Simonenko	Tyahnibok
WEST	97.6%	0.3%										
Ivano-Frankivsk	97.8%	0.3%	65.1%	14.8%	9.0%	4.6%	0.6%	0.1%	0.3%	1.6%	0.2%	1.8%
Lviv	97.5%	0.3%	69.9%	11.2%	6.8%	5.8%	0.8%	0.1%	0.3%	1.5%	0.2%	1.2%
Ternopil	97.4%	0.3%	60.6%	15.2%	10.1%	7.5%	0.7%	0.1%	0.2%	1.2%	0.2%	1.9%
WEST-CENTRAL	96.1%	1.2%										
Vinnitsia	96.8%	1.1%	67.3%	15.6%	5.5%	4.1%	1.7%	0.5%	0.9%	0.9%	0.6%	0.8%
Rivne	96.2%	0.9%	55.5%	16.0%	13.2%	5.0%	2.0%	0.3%	0.8%	2.0%	0.6%	1.7%
Zhytomyr	95.2%	1.8%	58.6%	15.0%	9.5%	4.4%	3.5%	0.6%	1.4%	1.7%	1.2%	1.1%
Khmelnitsky	95.8%	1.3%	56.2%	16.9%	11.8%	4.7%	2.0%	0.6%	0.9%	1.7%	0.7%	1.6%
Volyn	96.7%	0.9%	52.4%	17.3%	14.5%	6.1%	2.0%	0.4%	0.6%	1.9%	0.5%	1.9%
SOUTHWEST	94.7%	1.9%										
Chernivtsi	95.7%	1.1%	56.7%	18.8%	10.5%	3.1%	2.7%	0.4%	1.1%	1.5%	0.7%	1.3%
Transcarpathia	93.6%	2.6%	62.0%	12.9%	7.4%	4.0%	3.0%	2.0%	1.5%	1.5%	0.6%	1.3%
NORTH	94.7%	2.2%										
Cherkassy	95.8%	1.3%	54.6%	14.0%	11.9%	9.0%	2.2%	0.5%	1.2%	1.6%	0.8%	1.3%
Chernihiv	94.8%	2.5%	44.8%	19.5%	16.6%	6.2%	3.8%	1.2%	1.5%	1.5%	1.3%	0.9%
Kyiv city	95.2%	1.5%	64.1%	9.4%	6.6%	7.0%	3.3%	0.7%	1.6%	2.0%	0.8%	1.2%
Kyiv region	96.1%	1.0%	61.6%	13.6%	9.7%	5.1%	2.2%	0.4%	1.1%	1.7%	0.6%	1.1%
Kirovohrad	93.6%	2.8%	50.9%	16.1%	11.5%	5.8%	4.0%	1.3%	2.0%	1.9%	1.5%	1.4%
Poltava	93.8%	2.8%	54.5%	13.9%	10.6%	5.5%	4.3%	1.4%	1.9%	1.9%	1.4%	1.2%
Sumy	93.3%	3.6%	55.4%	14.3%	9.3%	5.7%	4.2%	2.0%	1.8%	1.6%	1.6%	1.0%
EAST-CENTRAL	78.4%	15.7%										
Dnipropetrovsk	85.8%	7.9%	44.7%	9.4%	6.3%	6.3%	10.5%	4.7%	5.1%	2.7%	3.2%	0.8%
Zaporizhzhia	83.3%	10.2%	38.1%	9.7%	4.9%	6.2%	13.7%	6.0%	7.0%	3.0%	4.2%	0.7%
Kharkiv	66.2%	29.0%	35.3%	7.6%	3.9%	4.4%	8.5%	26.3%	3.8%	2.1%	2.7%	0.6%
EAST	77.8%	12.3%										
Donetsk	79.2%	11.1%	36.1%	7.6%	2.9%	4.2%	19.6%	6.8%	5.5%	2.6%	4.3%	0.7%
Luhansk	76.3%	13.4%	33.1%	7.7%	6.2%	4.5%	15.7%	8.0%	5.9%	2.4%	5.4%	0.8%
CRIMEA	none											
SOUTH	87.3%	7.2%										
Kherson	89.0%	6.1%	48.7%	11.5%	5.9%	5.9%	10.3%	2.7%	3.5%	2.2%	3.4%	1.0%
Mykolaiv	86.8%	8.0%	45.9%	9.7%	5.2%	4.1%	13.1%	4.3%	5.5%	2.5%	3.7%	0.8%
Odesa	86.0%	7.6%	41.8%	9.5%	3.6%	2.9%	18.6%	3.8%	6.2%	2.6%	3.8%	0.8%

### **6.3. Pro-Western vs. Pro-Russian Political Parties in 2014 Parliamentary Elections and 2015 Local Elections in Ukraine.**

October 2014 parliamentary elections in Ukraine witnessed the lowest turnout in history of 52.4% and even western regions with traditionally high voters' participation demonstrated weak activity.<sup>77</sup> Donbass region occupied by pro-Russian secessionist forces took very limited part in parliamentary election, while Crimea did not vote at all. It was estimated that around 4.6 mln people in Ukraine did not or could not vote: 1.8 mln (100% of population) in Crimea and Sevastopol, 1.6 mln (49% of population) in Donetsk, and 1.2 mln (69% of population) in Luhansk.<sup>78</sup> The complicated electoral system during Ukrainian parliamentary elections represented mixed proportional first-past-the-post system that meant 50% (225) of parliamentary seats were distributed during local elections in national multi-member constituencies based on party lists and other half was distributed during elections in single-mandate constituencies when the candidate who got most votes won. For the assessment of political parties' performance, the research uses only results of elections in multi-member constituencies.

According to results of parliamentary elections, there were six parties that gained majority of seats in Verkhovna Rada (Ukrainian parliament): Petro Poroshenko Bloc (132 seats), People's Front (82 seats), Self-Reliance (33 seats), Opposition Bloc (29 seats), Radical Party (22 seats), and Fatherland (19 seats). Amongst these parties the Opposition Bloc was the only pro-Russian party and it gained majority in Donetsk and Luhansk regions, however, remaining six regions voted for pro-Western parties that gained majority in parliament and in December formed government coalition.

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<sup>77</sup> Andrew Wilson, "Explaining the Ukraine vote, European Council on Foreign Relations," October 30, 2014, [http://www.ecfr.eu/article/explaining\\_the\\_ukraine\\_vote](http://www.ecfr.eu/article/explaining_the_ukraine_vote)

<sup>78</sup> "Na vyborah ne smogut progolosovat' pochti 5 mln ukraintsev," *UNIAN*, October 24, 2014, <http://www.unian.net/politics/1000335-na-vyborah-ne-smogut-progolosovat-pochti-5-mln-ukraintsev.html>

Figure 12. Parliamentary Elections, 2014. Multi-Member Districts.

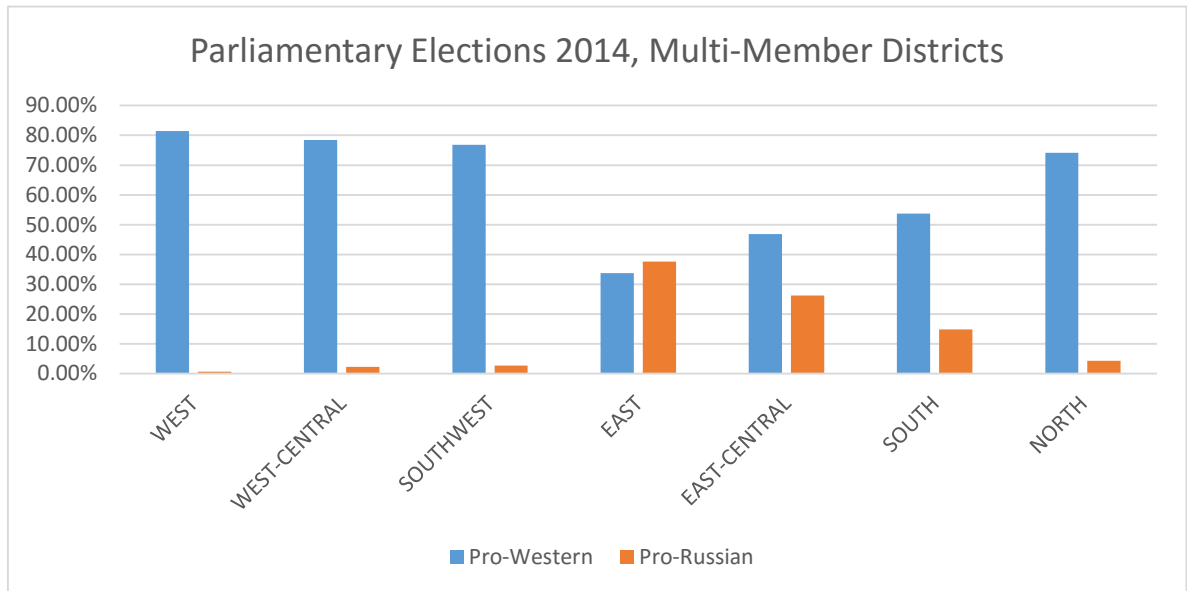
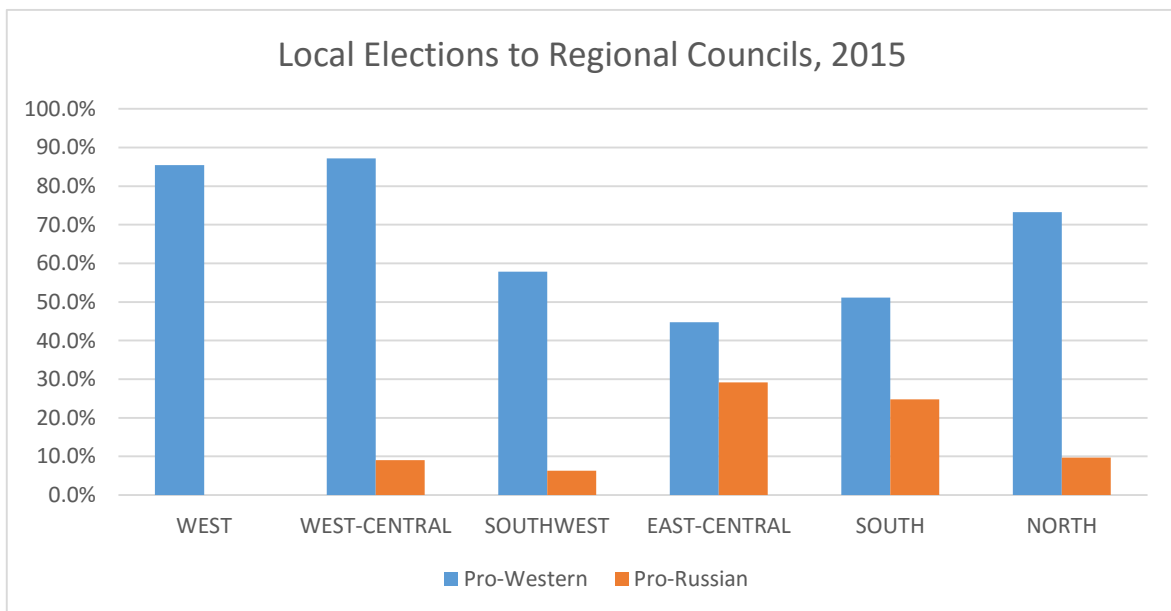


Figure 13. Local Elections 2015 to Regional Councils.



Local elections took place a year later in October 2015 and turnout was even lower than during 2014 parliamentary elections with 46.5% of population participation in elections to regional councils and mayors. The other alarming trend was that southern and eastern regions demonstrated significantly lower turnout than central and western Ukraine.<sup>79</sup> Another significant change was that Arseniy Yatsenyuk's political party People's Front that was one of the leaders during 2014 parliamentary elections lost its all popularity over the year and did not take part in local elections being incorporated together with UDAR political party into Petro Poroshenko's Solidarity. There was also a great number of participating parties (Table 3) that complicated procedure of categorizing them as either pro-Western or pro-Russian given the specific nature of local election. Two political parties Our Land and Revival have been described as "clones" of Party of Regions introduced in order to distract votes from the Opposition Bloc. These parties did not discuss foreign policy or geopolitical orientation in their programs specifically focusing on local issues which allowed to classify them in "gray" zone which was neither pro-Russian, nor pro-Western.

Results of local elections demonstrated that pro-Russian Opposition Bloc traditionally performed strong in East-Central and South and it got victory in Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, Mykolaiv and Odesa regions, however, it still did not get majority if to compare combined performance of other pro-Western parties.

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<sup>79</sup> Andrew Wilson, "Five lessons from the local elections in Ukraine," European Council on Foreign Relations, October 29, 2015, [http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary\\_five\\_lessons\\_from\\_the\\_local\\_elections\\_in\\_ukraine4087](http://www.ecfr.eu/article/commentary_five_lessons_from_the_local_elections_in_ukraine4087)

Table 3. Local Elections 2015. Regional Councils.

	Pro-Western	Pro-Russian	Solidarity	Fatherland	Our Land	Opposition Bloc	Agrarian Party	Radical Party	Ukrop	Revival	Svoboda	Samopomosh
<b>WEST</b>	<b>85.40%</b>	<b>none</b>										
Ivano-Frankivsk	91.67%	none	27.38%	21.43%	none	none	none	none	14.29%	none	19.05%	9.52%
Lviv	78.57%	none	23.81%	10.71%	none	none	none	5.95%	7.14%	none	14.29%	16.67%
Ternopil	85.95%	none	28.13%	15.63%	none	none	none	7.81%	4.69%	none	20.31%	9.38%
<b>WEST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>87.17%</b>	<b>9.04%</b>										
Vinnitsia	92.84%	7.14%	32.14%	20.24%	none	7.14%	7.14%	10.71%	7.14%	none	7.14%	8.33%
Rivne	90.63%	none	29.69%	25.00%	none	none	none	15.63%	7.81%	none	12.50%	none
Zhytomyr	81.25%	10.94%	26.56%	20.31%	none	10.94%	none	9.38%	7.81%	none	7.81%	9.38%
Khmelnitsky	77.38%	none	20.24%	13.10%	none	none	13.10%	9.52%	none	none	11.90%	9.52%
Volyn	93.75%	none	20.31%	18.75%	6.25%	none	none	9.38%	26.56%	none	10.94%	7.81%
<b>SOUTHWEST</b>	<b>57.82%</b>	<b>6.25%</b>										
Chernivtsi	81.25%	6.25%	23.44%	18.75%	6.25%	6.25%	10.94%	7.81%	6.25%	none	6.25%	7.81%
Transcarpathia	34.38%	6.25%	23.44%	10.94%	none	6.25%	none	none	none	none	none	none
<b>EAST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>44.76%</b>	<b>29.16%</b>										
Dnipropetrovsk	53.34%	38.33%	11.67%	7.50%	none	38.33%	none	6.67%	20.83%	8.33%	none	6.67%
Zaporizhzhia	47.61%	33.33%	15.48%	9.52%	11.90%	33.33%	none	7.14%	8.33%	none	none	7.14%
Kharkiv	33.34%	15.83%	16.67%	6.67%	9.17%	15.83%	none	none	none	41.67%	none	10.00%
<b>SOUTH</b>	<b>51.12%</b>	<b>24.75%</b>										
Kherson	68.76%	20.31%	28.13%	14.06%	10.94%	20.31%	none	9.38%	9.38%	none	none	7.81%
Mykolaiv	45.32%	26.56%	23.44%	10.94%	15.63%	26.56%	none	none	10.94%	6.25%	none	none
Odesa	39.29%	27.38%	26.19%	13.10%	9.52%	27.38%	none	none	none	9.52%	none	none
<b>NORTH</b>	<b>73.23%</b>	<b>9.73%</b>										
Cherkassy	65.47%	none	21.43%	15.48%	none	none	none	11.90%	8.33%	9.52%	8.33%	none
Chernihiv	76.56%	6.25%	18.75%	17.19%	17.19%	6.25%	14.06%	18.75%	7.81%	none	none	none
Kyiv region	84.51%	7.14%	26.19%	19.05%	8.33%	7.14%	none	10.71%	8.33%	none	8.33%	11.90%
Kirovohrad	73.45%	20.31%	21.88%	21.88%	6.25%	20.31%	none	9.38%	7.81%	none	6.25%	6.25%
Poltava	69.04%	7.14%	17.86%	15.48%	none	7.14%	8.33%	9.52%	9.52%	7.14%	8.33%	none
Sumy	70.32%	7.81%	21.88%	21.88%	none	7.81%	none	10.94%	7.81%	12.50%	7.81%	none

#### **6.4. Ukraine's Post-Crisis National Identification.**

Prior to 2014 Ukrainian identity split could have been described as division either between groups of population that favored Ukraine's integration with the EU and those who supported the CU or between regions that voted for pro-Ukrainian/pro-Western and regions who preferred pro-Russian presidential candidates and political parties. In terms of public attitude, result of 2014-15 public surveys clearly demonstrated that since the beginning of Russian-Ukrainian crisis (i) the EU has become a preferred way for integration even in southern Ukraine that traditionally supported the CU, (ii) public approval of Russia has significantly gone down and only around 15% of Ukrainians still positively see Russia. Results of 2014 presidential elections that were held in the middle of national crisis showed unwavering support of pro-Western candidate Petro Poroshenko, while pro-Russian candidates got minimum votes all around country. 2014 parliamentary and 2015 local elections also showed no unexpected trends with all regions besides eastern Ukraine supporting pro-Western political parties.

As the purpose of first research question has been to determine whether post-crisis Ukraine became more consolidated in its political choices and affiliation with European way of development, it can be concluded that for majority of Ukrainians the choice between pro-Western and pro-Russian is no longer relevant. Russia's annexation of Crimea, war in Donbass and bold use of anti-Ukrainian propaganda have resulted in alienation of Ukrainian society that would be very difficult to breach.

At the same time, it should be noted that amongst responses to integration options of "other way" or "don't know" also have got more popular especially in controversial eastern regions which indicates that, although, Ukraine has grown more anti-Russian, it has not necessary become entirely pro-European. The third option represents an attractive possibility for many nationalist groups such as Svoboda party that argues neither for the EU, nor for Russia.

## **Chapter 7. Post-Crisis Democratic Consolidation in Ukraine: Political Parties and Acceptance of Democracy.**

Following theoretic works on democracy and national unity by Rustow and Martinez-Herrera, it can be expected that emergence of more consolidated Ukrainian identification with the European Union would have positively influenced the state of democratic consolidation in Ukraine. In particular, what can be expected is Martinez-Herrera's non-recursive relationship between Ukrainian identification with pro-European political community, "common good perception" (the EU membership), "political community pride" (realization of Ukrainian sovereignty distinctive from the one of Russia) and increasing support of democracy.<sup>80</sup> In order to assess the state of post-crisis democratic consolidation in Ukraine it has been decided to focus on two main dimensions party system and mass acceptance of democracy which have been frequently described as important indicators of the consolidation process. If political parties are good indicator of how the process of democratic consolidation is going at the "top" among elites (or constitutional dimension according to Linz and Stepan), then public support of democracy shows how wide democratic norms have spread (or attitudinal dimension).

### **7.1. Ukrainian Political Party System after the Crisis.**

Despite many arguments about what are the better methods of measuring democratic consolidation, almost everyone agrees that party system is one of the most important indicators of how the consolidation process proceeds and whether it would be successful. There are certain characteristics that describe the kind of party system that would be conducive to democratic consolidation such as autonomy from other state institutions, internal democracy, transparency and its basis in the society.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Martinez-Herrera, "Competing National Identities and Democratization: A Theoretical and Comparative Analysis," 91-93.

<sup>81</sup> See Pridham, "Southern European democracies on the road to consolidation: a comparative assessment of the role of political parties," 1-42.

Ukrainian party system has been renewed after the latest parliamentary elections in 2014 that resulted in the overwhelming victory of pro-European parties that proceeded to form governmental coalition in December 2014. There were six main political parties that emerged from 2014 elections. Petro Poroshenko Bloc (PPB) or Solidarity was the party that gained most seats (132) in parliament, although it came second to People's Front (due to peculiarities of Ukrainian combined electoral system that is mix of proportional and first-past-the-post voting). The leader during 2014 parliamentary and 2015 local elections Solidarity has been described as pro-European party with very wide membership that included not only Kyiv's mayor Vitaliy Klitschko's party UDAR but also many people from Yanukovych's Party of Regions.<sup>82</sup> Solidarity has been responsible for negotiating Minsk ceasefire on Ukrainian behalf and has been one of the few pro-Western parties that insisted on peaceful solution of Donbass conflict.<sup>83</sup> Ex-Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk's People's Front got most national votes (22.14%) during 2014 elections but gained only 82 seats in the parliament. People's Front was pro-European but negotiated use of force in Donbass conflict. Following a year after 2014 elections, People's Front popularity rapidly fell mostly due to decreasing popular support of Prime Minister Yatsenyuk who retired in April 2016. People's Front did not take stand in 2015 local elections instead partly incorporating into Solidarity. Andriy Sadovyi's Self-Reliance party was named the biggest winner of 2014 elections due to its triumphant performance in central and western Ukraine. Self-Reliance got 33 seats, it also approved of EU membership but was mostly oriented towards domestic problems. The only pro-Russian party Yuri Boiko's Opposition Bloc came fourth during 2014 elections getting 29 seats and advocating against EU membership and for peaceful solution of Donbass conflict. In 2015 local elections Opposition Bloc gained first place in Dnipropetrovsk, Kirovohrad, Mykolaiv and Odesa. Oleg Lyashko's Radical Party gained 22 seats during 2014 elections and built its program on radical right populism and use of force in Donbass, while supporting EU

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<sup>82</sup> "Bolshe vsego regionalov 'priyutit' Bloc Petra Poroshenko," *ZN.UA*, October 29, 2015, [http://zn.ua/VYBORY2015/bolshe-vsego-eks-regionalov-priyutit-blok-petra-poroshenko-192832\\_.html](http://zn.ua/VYBORY2015/bolshe-vsego-eks-regionalov-priyutit-blok-petra-poroshenko-192832_.html)

<sup>83</sup> European Parliament, "Ukraine: political parties and the EU," January 2015, [http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/545714/EPRS\\_ATA%282015%29545714\\_REV1\\_EN.pdf](http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/ATAG/2015/545714/EPRS_ATA%282015%29545714_REV1_EN.pdf)



membership. Finally, Yulia Tymoshenko's Fatherland came sixth during 2014 presidential elections gaining only 19 seats but recovered in a year coming strong second after the Solidarity during 2015 local elections. For a long time Tymoshenko and her supporters have been advocates for EU membership.

Parliamentary elections of 2014 introduced pro-European parties that gained majority in parliament with marginalized pro-Russian Opposition Bloc holding insignificant number of seats. However, dominating pro-European discourse of Ukrainian political parties after the beginning of Ukrainian crisis did not compensate for various problematic trends that have continued to dominate Ukrainian political system.

Political party system is considered strong if it demonstrates a significant degree of autonomy from other branches of power, however, in Ukraine it has been problematic to say that executive does not control legislature. Similar to other political parties in the post-Soviet space, Ukrainian party system was and remains under-institutionalized and highly personalized when party's survival much depends on its political leader.<sup>84</sup> As much as Solidarity is associated with incumbent President of Ukraine Petro Poroshenko, other political parties are also structured around their leaders. Fatherland was created by ex-Prime Minister and political prisoner under Yanukovich's regime Yulia Tymoshenko and Radical Party was built in the image of its eccentric leader Oleg Lyashko. So it is hard to talk about consolidated party system given its personality-based structure. Moreover, as main power struggle in Ukraine lately has been occurring between President Poroshenko and ex-Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk the projection of their conflict has been observed in legislature where Poroshenko and Yatsenyuk appointed their loyal supporters using quota system. Poroshenko's people have had control over eleven ministries and eleven parliamentary committees, while Yatsenyuk's interests until recently were represented in four ministries and

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<sup>84</sup> Max Bader, "Party Politics in Georgia and Ukraine and the Failure of Western Assistance," *Democratization* 17, no. 6 (2010), 1097-99.

eight parliamentary committees.<sup>85</sup> Internal democracy and transparency have also always been problematic features for Ukrainian party system, although, not as much as for its neighbour Russia.<sup>86</sup> In many ways, it is a result of all-pervasive corruption that still remains the biggest problem of Ukraine, according to public surveys and experts' opinion. It has been noted many times that politics and business are very closely interrelated in Ukraine and the role of large business-owners (*oligarchs*) in Ukrainian politics has always been large. There were certain expectations that after Euromaidan and regime's change oligarchy would not be as influential as during Yanukovych' rule in 2010-13 but there are many signs that oligarchs still remain a significant factor in politics. Although the composition of powerful oligarchs might have changed, oligarchic factor remains stable due to continuity of informal networks and flexibility of their political loyalties.<sup>87</sup> Finally, as political party is supposed to serve as linkage between elites and society, it is important that political parties remain "rooted" in society offering channels of participation and representing attitudes of peoples. It is also highly difficult in Ukraine as, according to Razumkov Centre, in 2015 only 13% of Ukrainians expressed trust in political parties, while 75% of Ukrainians were highly skeptical.<sup>88</sup>

It can be considered that Ukraine still continues to have a weak party system with many impediments for party development remaining in place: Soviet political culture, corruption, weak institutionalization, lack of internal democracy and lack of clear ideologies.<sup>89</sup> While there is no genuine changes in Ukrainian political party system, it is difficult to foresee any

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<sup>85</sup> Mikhail Minakov, "A Decisive Turn? Risks for Ukrainian Democracy after the Euromaidan," Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, February 3, 2016, <http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/02/03/decisive-turn-risks-for-ukrainian-democracy-after-euromaidan/itf4>

<sup>86</sup> Swedish Agency for Development Evaluation, "Country Report Ukraine: Party Cooperation in a Results Perspective," Stockholm, SADEV, 2010.

<sup>87</sup> Heiko Pleines, "Oligarchs and Politics in Ukraine," *Democratizatsiya: The Journal of Post-Soviet Democratization* 24, no. 1, Winter 2016, 105-27.

<sup>88</sup> Razumkov Centre, "How much do you trust the following sociological institute?," March 6-12, 2015, [http://www.razumkov.org.ua/eng/poll.php?poll\\_id=1030](http://www.razumkov.org.ua/eng/poll.php?poll_id=1030)

<sup>89</sup> Taras Kuzio, "Impediments to the Emergence of Political Parties in Ukraine," *Political Studies Association, Politics* 34, no. 4 (2014): 309-23.

significant improvement in quality of democracy as political parties remain key agents of new regime's consolidation.

## **7.2. Ukraine and Mass Acceptance of Democracy.**

Unlike political party system, attitudes of people to democracy is more reflective of how well the attitudinal component of democratic consolidation is going or whether democracy is becoming the only appropriate form of government. It can be seen from IRI surveys in 2015 (Fig. 14) that in the choice between prosperity and democracy three out of six regions that took part in survey preferred democracy. West, West-Central and Southwest Ukraine decided that democracy was more important, while North, South and East-Central chose prosperity. In 2016, however, only West and West-Central (Fig. 15) still went with democracy, while other regions decided economic well-being was more important. Moreover, the overall figures of support for democracy went down especially in Southwest where support for democracy dropped almost by half and South where democracy lost around 10% in a year. Mass acceptance of democracy is important indicator of democratic consolidation, however, it seems to be weakening in Ukraine as people start to look around for more socioeconomic stability. Such trend is understandable given the rough period Ukraine is going through. Pridham wrote that in times of democratisation it is easy to confuse between process of democratic transition and instability that emerges as a result of breakdown of old regime and conflict between demands for changes and elites' resistance to such changes.<sup>90</sup> The instability that always emerges when old regime collapses is not a result of democratisation per se but the public can perceive demand for democracy as one of factors of instability which is something that many are concerned can happen in Ukraine. Although there have been attempts to limit state-owned Russian mass media in Ukraine, most of the population still an easy access to Russian TV shows and news that explain poor economic situation in Ukraine as a result of Euromaidan in 2013 and end of Yanukovich's regime.

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<sup>90</sup> Pridham, "Southern Europe democracies on the road to consolidation: a comparative assessment of the role of political parties," 14.

Figure 14. Democracy vs. Prosperity Municipal Survey. 2015.

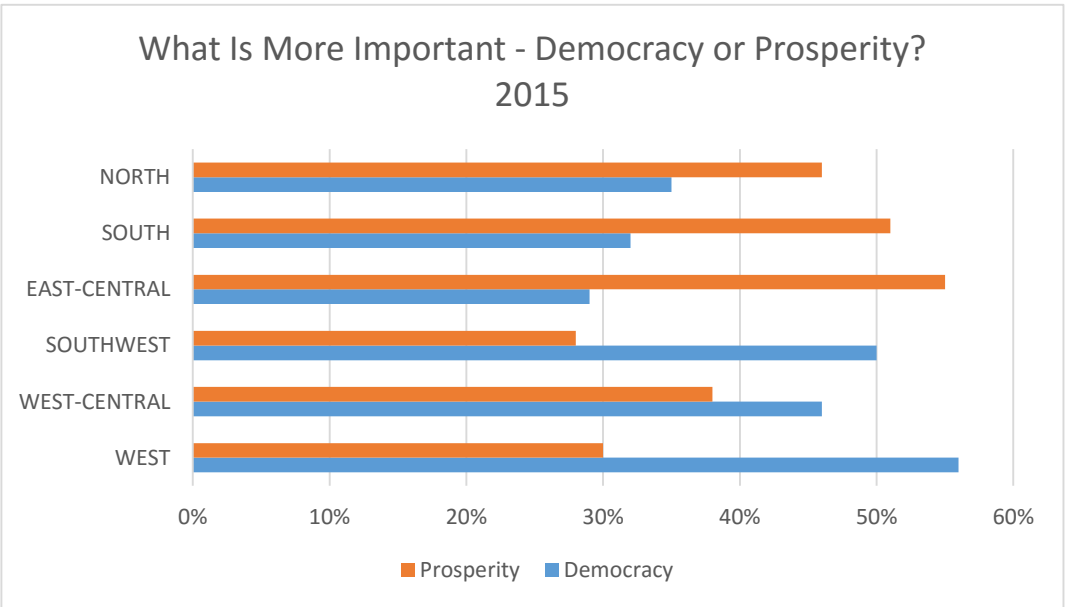
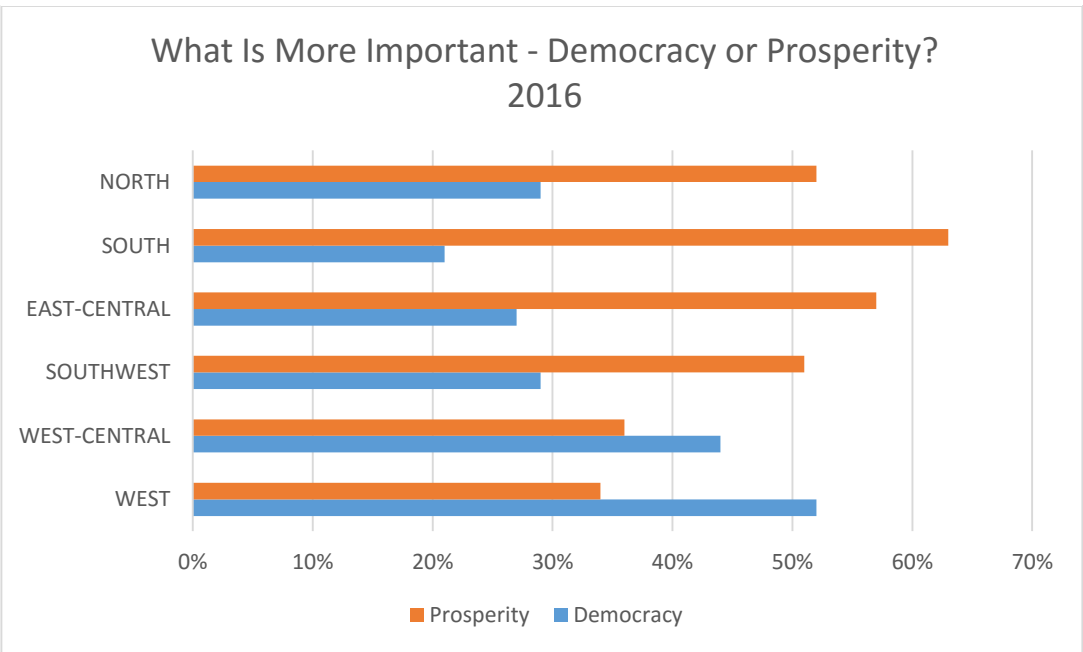


Figure 15. Democracy vs. Prosperity Municipal Survey. 2016.



### **7.3. 2016: Many Dangers for Democratic Consolidation in Ukraine.**

Analysis of democratic consolidation in Ukraine in early 2016 gives a lot of reasons for concern even if to focus only on two indicators such as political party system and public support of democracy and ignore many other alarming signs such as lack of trust in governmental institutions, increasingly non-democratic actions of Poroshenko, forced retirement of Yatsenjuk and non-weakening corruption. The research has attempted to look at democratic consolidation from two-side perspective – to assess political elites by looking at political party system and attitude of people towards democracy by looking at opinion polls.

Ukrainian political system has always been characterized by power struggle between large political-financial clans and, sadly, this process still goes on today as Ukrainian political life has been divided in power struggle between Poroshenko and Yatsenjuk's groups. Such feature of political life has been a major factor in the formation of party system before and after Euromaidan and Russian-Ukrainian crisis. Oligarchical factor remains active and parties are still weak institutions focused around their leaders which does not allow to consider party system in Ukraine as autonomous political actor that ensures linkage function between society and elites. Public support for democracy has also somewhat wavered, although, such disappointment can be explained by unfavorable and unstable economic environment that has been in Ukraine since the new government that has impacted all social groups. It might seem strange to see why public survey formulated the dilemma in terms of "prosperity" vs. "democracy" as these are not antagonistic terms but it is understandable in the context of Russian-Ukrainian crisis and Russian rhetoric where pro-democratic political changes are inevitably tied to poverty and political instability which has for long been one of Russia's strategies in fighting against so-called "colour revolutions" in its vicinity.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> For more details, see Thomas Ambrosio, *Authoritarian backlash: Russian resistance to democratization in the former Soviet Union* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009).

## Chapter 8. Post-Crisis Ukraine.

“Ukrainian politics is like circus with horses,  
however, in my opinion circus is still better than swamp”<sup>92</sup>.

Julia Latynina, journalist

Following trip to Ukraine in April 2016, Russian journalist Julia Latynina has described Ukrainian politics as “circus” based on observation of local and national political struggles. At first sight, it might seem unflattering but for many experts Ukrainian turbulent political life is still more preferable to Russia’s “swamp” where for a long time there has been no alternative to ruling coalition of *siloviki* (people from Soviet and later Russian Security Service) with Putin as their leader. Ukraine’s political instability and inability to consolidate neither authoritarian nor democratic regime has been cited as both blessing and curse of modern Ukraine. There have been certain hopes the Euromaidan and Revolution of Dignity in 2013 would be that final factor that would push Ukraine towards consolidated democracy. Russian annexation of Crimea and conflict in Donbass has become a major problem for post-Maidan Ukraine, however, even such disaster could have its benefits in terms of finally solving Ukrainian dilemma of where it should look eastward or westward. Two years later in 2016 this has been an attempt to analyze what were the consequences of turbulent 2014 year for Ukrainian national identity and process of democratic consolidation.

### 8.1. Becoming Ukrainian. Ukraine’s Post-2014 National Identity.

In post-structuralist discourse theory any identity-based narrative is dualistic as it always should include not only promise of pleasure/fullness but also inevitably feeling of absence/lack that is caused by some Other.<sup>93</sup> Nationalist discourses also need both promise of Golden Age and some enemy who would be responsible for the feeling of incompleteness

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<sup>92</sup> Julia Latynina, “Ukraina: dva goda posle Maidana,” *Novaya Gazeta*, Issue 44, April 25, 2016, <http://www.novayagazeta.ru/politics/72712.html>

<sup>93</sup> For more developments on role of boundaries in post-structuralist identity construction see Aletta J. Norval, “Trajectories of future research in discourse theory,” in *Discourse Theory and Political Analysis*, ed. David R. Howarth, Aletta J. Norval and Yannis Stavrakakis (Manchester: Manchester United Press, 2000), 219-236.

and against whom nations identify themselves. In the end in post-structuralism the meaning of each signifier is rooted in its difference from other signifiers. “Cat” is a “cat” because ultimately it is not a “dog” and not because there is, for example, some absolute idea of cat as Plato would suggest. As one of scholars in discourse theory Yannis Stavrakakis noticed, “Identity construction – this process of managing the semblance of a stable and complete identity – ultimately depends on the ability of a discourse to explain (and/or mask) its lack of fullness and completeness”<sup>94</sup>. Following in the post-structuralist tradition, Russia has made a great contribution to the construction of modern Ukrainian identity by providing narrative of Other against which Ukraine would be identifying its nation. This research has explored changes in Ukrainian identity using the framework of pro-Russian/pro-Western dichotomy which to a certain degree is a simplified picture of Ukrainians’ attitude but it still can make useful contribution in regards to how previously pro-Russian regions feel about the EU and Western democracy.

Ukrainian nation-building has been such a complex process for a large part because Ukraine is located at the border of European and Russian powers both of whom have exerted their influence on the country. Such cross-cultural influence has resulted in divided loyalties in Ukraine where western and central regions are more nationalistic and EU-oriented, while eastern and southern regions still feel strong pull towards Russia. In the condition of democratic transition, such identity split is a factor of constant instability that prevents transition from reaching its final stage of consolidation. 2014 Russian-Ukrainian crisis could have been a possible solution to the identity split as after losing Crimea and Donbass to Russia Ukraine has finally rejected idea of Russian World (Russkiy Mir) and opted to look to the EU instead. Although, Ukraine has not become entirely consolidated in its pro-Western orientation, it does seem less divided in its identity split.

Public surveys and results of elections have demonstrated that, although pro-Russian political actors and parties retain significant influence in eastern and partly southern regions, support

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<sup>94</sup> Yannis Stavrakakis, *The Lacanian Left: Psychoanalysis, Theory, and Politics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 195.

has gone much lower. Only East has demonstrated persistent support for integration with the Customs Union and has voted for Opposition Bloc during 2014 parliamentary elections. There has been, however, almost equal support for the EU integration and it has been highly doubtful that 2014 elections in Donetsk and Luhansk were free and fair given extensive resources of Party of Regions and Russia and lack of independent observers in conflict lands.<sup>95</sup> Another interesting detail is, though, East seems to prefer pro-Russian integration in comparison with the EU membership, it is the only region whose first option is “don’t know” in response to integration question in 2015.

At the same time, many authors are concerned that support of EU integration may not last much longer hindered by growing disappointment with domestic reforms of pro-EU politicians in Ukraine and unclear signals from the EU itself.<sup>96</sup> The EU’s policy in Ukraine within the framework of EaP (Eastern Partnership) has been discussed quite a lot and one of most popular criticisms has been that EaP lacks in motivation side such as future membership in the EU. In April 2014 the Netherlands hosted referendum on whether to remove trade barriers with Ukraine essentially implying closer partnership of the EU and Ukraine and 61% of voters voted against it.<sup>97</sup> The result has been interpreted in more than one way as many experts have pointed out low turnout (32%) and non-binding nature of this vote that did not put any obligations on Dutch government.<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, this victory of Eurosceptics has sent a certain message to Ukraine such as its potential European membership seems to be in a very distant future if ever.

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<sup>95</sup> “Why are Ukraine separatist election controversial?,” *BBC*, November 1, 2014, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-29831028>

<sup>96</sup> Maksim Vikhrov, “Posle Gollandii. Kak menjaetsja otnoshenie ukraintsev k evrointegratsii,” *Moscow Center of Carnegie*, April 29, 2016, <http://carnegie.ru/commentary/2016/04/29/ru-63464/ixrz>

<sup>97</sup> “Netherlands Rejects EU-Ukraine Partnership Deal,” *BBC*, April 7, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35976086>

<sup>98</sup> Anna Holligan, “Dutch Dilemma,” *BBC*, April 7, 2016, <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-35984821>



## 8.2. Democratic Consolidation in Post-2014 Ukraine.

The second research question has been concerned with whether more consolidated pro-European identification of Ukrainian nation would act as strengthening factor for democratic consolidation as many theories would suggest. Unlike the first research question, there is no definitive positive answer to this question. There is of course an issue of time limitation as democratic consolidation takes decades and it is unlikely to be correctly assessed two years after the beginning of transition. However, because Ukraine has already been on this path of democratic transition in 2004, there is a possibility to see whether the same institutional weaknesses and incapable political elites would prevent the process of consolidation in Ukraine and would weakened identification with Russia act as a constrainer on the rollback of democracy in Ukraine this time. Democratisation studies suggest that democracy happens either because of benevolent structural conditions or conscious decisions of political actors (either elites or people). Socioeconomic conditions in 2016 in Ukraine so far have been far from conducive to democratisation and the results of second research question demonstrate that elites have continued in their irresponsible manner engaging in power struggles and corruption perpetuating weak political party system. It can be concluded that if Ukraine has hope for genuine democratic consolidation, it would happen only from the “bottom” because of the role of multiple NGOs and civil society that perhaps are the strongest in Ukraine compared to other post-communist societies (with exception of Baltic states). However, results of public surveys have also demonstrated a large dissatisfaction of public with performance of state institutions, reforms and political parties and low voter turnout in parliamentary elections 2014 and local elections 2015 are warning signs that public have lost its enthusiasm for political transition and trust in political authorities.<sup>99</sup> In any other ex-communist country, such dissatisfaction would likely result in more passive political behavior, however, history of modern Ukraine allows to suggest that opposite can happen such as, for example, new Maidan.

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<sup>99</sup> “Obshchestvenno-politicheskie nastroyeniya Ukrainy,” *Gorshenin Institute*, February 23, 2016, [http://institute.gorshenin.ua/programs/researches/142\\_obshchestvennopoliticheskie.html](http://institute.gorshenin.ua/programs/researches/142_obshchestvennopoliticheskie.html)

It should be admitted that so far in 2016 pro-European turn of Ukrainian society and more consolidated national identification (attitudinal component of democratic consolidation) have been less influential to the process of democratisation in comparison with weak and corrupted elites and their incapacity to proceed with transparent democratic decision-making (constitutional component). Problem of post-communist elites is a well-known one and there have been many studies about how it impedes democratisation. The one way to get out of informal networks of corruption in Ukraine is to introduce new people which has been partially done by Petro Poroshenko when he introduced citizens of Georgia and Baltic states to take key positions in Ukrainian ministries.<sup>100</sup> Following scandalous resignation of one of them economic minister Aivaras Abromavičius allowed to make obvious conclusions about level of corruption in these institutions.<sup>101</sup> However, such external actors also can be “wild” cards in Ukrainian politics as they are not deeply affiliated with Ukrainian groups of interest. Certainly they do not have much political influence with the only exception of former Georgian president and personal enemy of Putin Mikheil Saakashvili who has been Governor of Odesa since 2015. Starting fight against infamous Odesa’s corruption and making enemies with Prime Minister Yatsenyuk, Saakashvili has gained a wide recognition by Ukrainian people being one of the popular politicians in early 2016.<sup>102</sup> Such “wild” card can play out unexpectedly in next cycle of Ukrainian elections and possibly even break the established trajectory of post-revolutionary political development in Ukraine where the mass protests are always the highest point of democratic expectations followed by growing disappointment with political elites’ choices.

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<sup>100</sup> See Piotr Kościński and Konrad Zasztowt, “Foreigners in the Ukrainian Government: A Unique Solution for Challenging Times,” The Polish Institute of International Affairs, September 2015, [https://www.pism.pl/files/?id\\_plik=20251](https://www.pism.pl/files/?id_plik=20251)

<sup>101</sup> “Economic minister's resignation plunges Ukraine into new crisis,” *The Guardian*, February 4, 2016, <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2016/feb/04/economic-minister-resignation-ukraine-crisis-aivaras-abromavicius>

<sup>102</sup> Maxim Tucker, “Ukraine’s Most Popular Politician,” *Politico*, November 4, 2015, <http://www.politico.eu/article/ukraines-mikhail-saakashvili-most-popular-politician/>

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## Appendix

*Table 4. Support for integration processes on national level, 2014-2015.*

	European Union	Customs Union	Other	Difficult to answer
Mar-12	36%	43%	4%	17%
May-12	37%	41%	5%	17%
Sep-12	32%	42%	6%	20%
May-13	40%	37%	5%	18%
Sep-13	42%	37%	5%	17%
Feb-14	41%	36%	9%	14%
Mar-14	52%	27%	6%	14%
Apr-14	53%	24%	10%	13%
Sep-14	59%	17%	9%	15%
Jul-15	55%	14%	12%	20%
Sep-15	57%	17%	12%	14%

*Table 5. Support for integration processes, regional level, March 2014*

	European Union	Customs Union	Other	Difficult to answer
WEST	90%	3%	2%	5%
CENTER	70%	9%	11%	10%

SOUTH	29%	37%	10%	24%
EAST	20%	59%	3%	12%

*Table 6. Support for integration processes, regional level, April 2014*

	European Union	Customs Union	Other	Difficult to answer
WEST	82%	2%	3%	12%
CENTER	69%	10%	9%	12%
SOUTH	28%	32%	19%	21%
EAST	27%	53%	10%	10%

*Table 7. Support for integration processes, regional level, July 2015*

	European Union	Customs Union	Other	Difficult to answer
WEST	83%	4%	6%	8%
CENTER	58%	8%	12%	22%
SOUTH	48%	18%	18%	16%
EAST	26%	28%	12%	34%

*Table 8. Attitude towards Russia and EU, March 2014*

	Warm	Neutral	Cold	Don't know
Russia	31%	21%	45%	2%
European Union	46%	31%	22%	1%

*Table 9. Attitude towards Russia and EU, April 2014*

	Warm	Neutral	Cold	Don't know
Russia	15%	17%	66%	2%
European Union	48%	38%	11%	3%

*Table 10. Attitude towards Russia and EU, July 2015*

	Very Warm/Warm	Neutral	Very Cold/Cold	Difficult to answer
Russia	16%	28%	51%	5%
European Union	45%	41%	9%	5%

*Table 11. Attitude towards Russia and EU, September 2015*

	Very Warm/Warm	Neutral	Very Cold/Cold	Difficult to answer
Russia	17%	20%	61%	2%
European Union	51%	35%	12%	2%

Table 12. Presidential Elections, 2004. Additional Round (December 26, 2014).

	Pro-Western (Yushchenko)	Pro-Russian (Yanukovich)
<b>WEST</b>	<b>95.1%</b>	<b>3.4%</b>
Ivano-Frankivsk	95.7%	2.9%
Lviv	93.7%	4.7%
Ternopil	96.0%	2.7%
<b>WEST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>81.3%</b>	<b>15.4%</b>
Vinnytsia	84.0%	12.9%
Rivne	84.5%	12.3%
Zhytomyr	66.8%	28.9%
Khmelnitsky	80.4%	16.0%
Volyn	90.7%	7.0%
<b>SOUTHWEST</b>	<b>73.6%</b>	<b>22.0%</b>
Chernivtsi	79.7%	16.4%
Transcarpathia	67.4%	27.6%
<b>NORTH</b>	<b>74.3%</b>	<b>21.5%</b>
Cherkassy	79.1%	17.3%
Chernihiv	71.1%	24.2%
Kyiv city	78.3%	17.5%

Kyiv region	82.7%	13.7%
Kirovohrad	63.4%	31.8%
Poltava	66.0%	29.1%
Sumy	79.4%	16.9%
<b>EAST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>27.6%</b>	<b>66.4%</b>
Dnipropetrovsk	32.0%	61.1%
Zaporizhzhia	24.5%	70.1%
Kharkiv	26.3%	68.1%
<b>EAST</b>	<b>5.2%</b>	<b>92.4%</b>
Donetsk	4.2%	93.6%
Luhansk	6.2%	91.2%
<b>CRIMEA</b>	<b>15.4%</b>	<b>81.2%</b>
<b>SOUTH</b>	<b>32.8%</b>	<b>61.7%</b>
Kherson	43.4%	51.3%
Mykolaiv	27.7%	67.1%
Odesa	27.4%	66.6%

Table 13. Presidential Elections, 2010. Regional Voting. Second Round.

	Pro-Western (Tymoshenko)	Pro-Russian (Yanukovich)
<b>WEST</b>	<b>87.8%</b>	<b>7.8%</b>
Ivano-Frankivsk	88.9%	7.0%
Lviv	86.2%	8.6%
Ternopil	88.4%	7.9%
<b>WEST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>71.3%</b>	<b>23.7%</b>
Vinnytsia	71.1%	24.2%
Rivne	76.2%	18.9%
Zhytomyr	57.5%	36.7%
Khmelnitsky	69.7%	24.9%
Volyn	81.8%	14.0%
<b>SOUTHWEST</b>	<b>59.0%</b>	<b>34.6%</b>
Chernivtsi	66.4%	27.6%
Transcarpathia	51.6%	41.5%
<b>NORTH</b>	<b>62.2%</b>	<b>31.1%</b>
Cherkassy	65.3%	28.8%
Chernihiv	63.6%	30.9%

Kyiv city	65.3%	25.7%
Kyiv region	69.7%	23.6%
Kirovohrad	54.6%	39.6%
Poltava	54.2%	38.9%
Sumy	62.9%	30.4%
<b>EAST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>24.6%</b>	<b>68.5%</b>
Dnipropetrovsk	29.1%	62.7%
Zaporizhzhia	22.2%	71.5%
Kharkiv	22.4%	71.3%
<b>EAST</b>	<b>7.1%</b>	<b>89.7%</b>
Donetsk	6.4%	90.4%
Luhansk	7.7%	88.9%
<b>CRIMEA</b>	<b>17.3%</b>	<b>78.2%</b>
<b>SOUTH</b>	<b>25.4%</b>	<b>68.5%</b>
Kherson	33.7%	59.9%
Mykolaiv	22.9%	71.5%
Odesa	19.5%	74.1%



*Table 14. Presidential Elections, 2014. Regional Voting. First Round.*

	Pro-Western	Pro-Russian
WEST	97.6%	0.3%
WEST-CENTRAL	96.1%	1.2%
SOUTHWEST	94.7%	1.9%
NORTH	94.7%	2.2%
EAST-CENTRAL	78.4%	15.7%
EAST	77.8%	12.3%
SOUTH	87.3%	7.2%

Table 15. Parliamentary Elections, 2014.

	Pro-Western	Pro-Russian	PP Bloc	People's Front	Self-Reliance	Opposition Bloc	Radical	Fatherland
<b>WEST</b>	<b>81.40%</b>	<b>0.62%</b>						
Ivano-Frankivsk	81.46%	0.54%	18.25%	37.48%	14.69%	0.54%	4.85%	6.19%
Lviv	82.31%	0.71%	20.42%	33.03%	18.78%	0.71%	5.35%	4.73%
Ternopil	80.43%	0.61%	19.73%	36.50%	11.30%	0.61%	6.59%	6.31%
<b>WEST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>78.44%</b>	<b>2.20%</b>						
Vinnitsia	80.14%	2.26%	37.45%	22.41%	7.59%	2.26%	6.09%	6.60%
Rivne	79.16%	1.75%	24.21%	29.31%	11.08%	1.75%	7.91%	6.65%
Zhytomyr	75.69%	3.30%	23.03%	26.39%	9.12%	3.30%	10.63%	6.52%
Khmelnitsky	78.44%	2.23%	24.98%	26.09%	10.39%	2.23%	9.33%	7.65%
Volyn	78.75%	1.47%	16.89%	33.22%	11.46%	1.47%	9.70%	7.48%
<b>SOUTHWEST</b>	<b>76.83%</b>	<b>2.63%</b>						
Chernivtsi	78.39%	2.85%	21.20%	32.39%	8.56%	2.85%	8.79%	7.45%
Transcarpathia	75.26%	2.41%	28.05%	25.63%	9.63%	2.41%	6.83%	5.12%
<b>EAST-CENTRAL</b>	<b>46.86%</b>	<b>26.20%</b>						
Dnipropetrovsk	52.56%	24.27%	19.48%	12.24%	8.59%	24.27%	7.59%	4.66%
Zaporizhzhia	46.97%	22.18%	16.94%	10.91%	8.59%	22.18%	5.92%	4.61%
Kharkiv	41.05%	32.16%	15.17%	8.13%	7.49%	32.16%	6.38%	3.88%
<b>SOUTH</b>	<b>53.68%</b>	<b>14.77%</b>						
Kherson	59.76%	10.39%	22.26%	16.14%	6.70%	10.39%	8.98%	5.68%
Mykolaiv	54.82%	15.88%	20.64%	14.04%	7.71%	15.88%	7.78%	4.65%
Odesa	46.47%	18.05%	19.63%	9.76%	7.23%	18.05%	5.41%	4.44%
<b>NORTH</b>	<b>74.16%</b>	<b>4.28%</b>						
Cherkassy	75.61%	2.76%	22.50%	26.79%	9.83%	2.76%	10.05%	6.44%
Chernihiv	72.43%	3.88%	21.46%	19.49%	7.63%	3.88%	16.42%	7.43%
Kyiv city	72.80%	3.69%	23.95%	18.70%	21.39%	3.69%	3.54%	5.22%
Kyiv region	79.13%	2.67%	24.28%	28.25%	13.13%	2.67%	6.91%	6.56%
Kirovohrad	73.30%	7.00%	21.73%	23.66%	7.90%	7.00%	11.67%	8.34%
Poltava	72.86%	5.33%	23.24%	23.33%	9.22%	5.33%	10.85%	6.22%
Sumy	72.98%	4.64%	25.09%	21.81%	8.28%	4.64%	10.61%	7.19%
<b>EAST</b>	<b>33.70%</b>	<b>37.64%</b>						
Donetsk	34.30%	38.69%	18.22%	6.14%	3.85%	38.69%	4.14%	1.95%
Luhansk	33.09%	36.59%	14.32%	5.94%	5.14%	36.59%	5.36%	2.33%

Table 16. IRI's Municipal Poll 2015.

	Democracy	Prosperity
<b>WEST</b>	56%	30%
Ivano-Frankivsk	47%	34%
Lviv	57%	29%
Ternopil	65%	27%
<b>WEST-CENTRAL</b>	46%	38%
Vinnytsia	48%	34%
Rivne	57%	31%
Zhytomyr	36%	45%
Khmelnitsky	43%	41%
<b>SOUTHWEST</b>	50%	28%
Chernivtsi	50%	28%
<b>EAST-CENTRAL</b>	29%	55%
Dnipropetrovsk	34%	49%
Zaporizhzhia	29%	64%
Kharkiv	25%	51%
<b>SOUTH</b>	32%	51%
Kherson	35%	44%
Mykolaiv	26%	56%
Odesa	35%	54%
<b>NORTH</b>	35%	46%
Cherkassy	37%	47%
Chernihiv	29%	60%
Kyiv city	46%	37%
Kirovohrad	41%	35%
Poltava	31%	47%
Sumy	27%	52%

Table 17. IRI's Municipal Poll 2016.

	Democracy	Prosperity
<b>WEST</b>	52%	34%
Ivano-Frankivsk	53%	31%
Lviv	51%	36%
Ternopil	52%	35%
<b>WEST-CENTRAL</b>	44%	36%
Vinnytsia	44%	30%
Rivne	44%	29%
Zhytomyr	45%	35%
Khmelnitsky	41%	49%
<b>SOUTHWEST</b>	29%	51%
Chernivtsi	29%	51%
<b>EAST-CENTRAL</b>	27%	57%
Dnipropetrovsk	26%	55%
Zaporizhzhia	36%	59%
Kharkiv	20%	56%
<b>SOUTH</b>	21%	63%
Kherson	26%	58%
Mykolaiv	13%	71%
Odesa	25%	59%
<b>NORTH</b>	29%	52%
Cherkassy	36%	46%
Chernihiv	13%	64%
Kyiv city	39%	46%
Kirovohrad	32%	48%
Poltava	32%	50%
Sumy	24%	59%